

Brazilian rabbi casts doubt on conversion

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The state's challenge to a couple's non-Orthodox conversion has received unexpected support — from the rabbi of the couple's synagogue in Brazil.

The legal battle over the status of Murilo Pinto Varela and Julia Varela of Kibbutz Mishmar Hanegav began earlier this year, when they petitioned the High Court of Justice to order the Interior Ministry to register them as Jews.

The petition followed last year's Shoshana Miller case, in which the High Court ordered the Interior Ministry to register a Reform convert as a Jew. The State Attorney's Office originally said it would not oppose the Varelas' request. But in a hearing in March, the office said it had discovered a discrepancy between the Hebrew and Gregorian dates on Murilo Varela's certificate, and the court granted the state time to investigate.

The High Court has also granted co-respondent status to former interior minister Yitzhak Peretz. In its brief Shas is expected to attack the Reform movement.

A statement to *The Jerusalem Post* by Rabbi Henry Sobel, chairman of the rabbinic of Sao Paulo's Congregation Israelita Paulista, raises further doubts about Varela's conversion.

The conversion was ostensibly performed at Sobel's synagogue. But the rabbi said in his statement that "in our files we do not have a record of the conversion."

Sobel said that Varela had sent him a copy of the conversion certificate "signed by a rabbi who belonged to the rabbinic of our congregation at the time."

Rabbi Marcello Rittner, who performed the conversion, is now serving as rabbi of a Conservative congregation in Mexico City.

In his statement, Sobel confirmed (Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)



The trial of former Gestapo chief Klaus Barbie gets under way in Lyon today (see story, page 3). Yesterday, some 200 Jewish students staged a silent demonstration in memory of Barbie's victims. (AFP)

Pollard parents' 'thank you'

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The parents of convicted Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard yesterday expressed their deepest appreciation to the people of Israel for their moral and financial support.

Dr. and Mrs. Morris Pollard confirmed in an interview that they had received \$150,000 from private contributors in Israel to help pay the legal expenses for their son and daughter-in-law, Anne Henderson-Pollard.

Pollard was sentenced to life in prison last March after pleading guilty to spying for Israel. His wife received a five-year sentence on lesser charges. He is serving at a federal prison in Springfield, Missouri.

The Pollards said they were deeply moved by the outpouring of support that came from private individuals in Israel. They expressed the hope that Jonathan and Anne Pollard would one day be freed and allowed to settle in Israel.

They said that they and their children had received thousands of letters from around the world. Noting that they could never hope to respond individually to all of them, the parents said they wanted to convey their appreciation in the following message through *The Jerusalem Post*:

"Our children, Jonathan and Anne Pollard, wish to send love and heartfelt thanks to the hundreds of citizens of Israel who had written to them expressing their concern and support both personally and financially. Even though Anne is not well and even though she is separated from Jonathan, she joins him in mind.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)



Can't put this cheque in his pocket! A smiling Amos Mansdorf holds up the giant \$30,000 cheque he won yesterday after putting away Czech Miloslav Mecir 6-2, 6-4 in the final of Japan's \$200,000 Gunze tennis tournament. The 21-year-old Israeli champion, who ranks 36 in the world, completed his victory over the world's No. 5 player in just 64 minutes. It was the second time in two months that Mansdorf has beaten Mecir. In March his victory spearheaded Israel's triumph in the Davis Cup de against the Czechs. In the first two rounds of the Gunze tournament, Mansdorf beat top American players Jimmy Connors and Scott Davis. After pocketing the handsome first prize Mansdorf said his immediate aim was to break into the world top 20. The tournament is on the Grand Prix circuit and no computer points are accumulated. (AFP)

Another petrol bomb in Kalkilya Rabin lashes out at settler 'pogroms'

By LEA LEVAVI
and JOEL GREENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporters

Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin lashed out yesterday at "pogroms" by settlers in the West Bank, and said violence by Gush Emunim only drove more Arabs to terrorism.

"Those who stage pogroms like the one in Kalkilya are playing into the terrorists' hands," Rabin told a Labour Party forum in Tel Aviv. "We have to distinguish between those Arabs who commit terrorist attacks and those who do not."

Rabin was referring to a rampage by settlers in the West Bank town last week after a petrol bomb attack near the town.

A group of about 15 armed settlers entered Kalkilya at about 7 p.m. yesterday on a vigilante patrol. They left the area after a short time without reported incident. An IDF spokesman said Border Police kept a watch on the settlers.

About three hours later, a petrol bomb was thrown in Kalkilya at a car driven by an Israeli Arab from neighbouring Jaljulya. There were no injuries and no damage was done. The attack was the sixth petrol bomb attempt in the area in the past week. A curfew was clamped on Kalkilya after the incident.

Gush Emunim secretariat members opposed to the leadership of secretary-general Daniella Weiss last night held an emergency meeting at the movement's offices in Jerusalem. Participants included Hanan Porat and Rabbi Yoel Bin-Nun, who reportedly announced he would hold a sit-in in the office until Weiss was replaced. Criticism against Weiss in Gush Emunim has mounted since she led the rampage through Kalkilya last week.

Deputy Chief of General Staff Ehud Barak said actions by settler

vigilantes in the West Bank are illegal, and a "real and unnecessary danger" which could lead to "serious disturbances in the area."

His remarks came in a letter to Shmuel Ben-Yishai, a Kach member who heads the Kiryat Arba-based "Committee for Safeguarding Security on the Roads."

Barak's response to a letter by Ben-Yishai was written two weeks ago, when Barak was OC Central Command, but was released only yesterday.

Armed members of Ben-Yishai's committee have carried out vigilante patrols in the West Bank in their cars, and have escorted Israeli buses on the Jerusalem-Hebron highway. Committee members have taken responsibility for retaliatory attacks in which windows of Arab homes and cars have been smashed after stones were hurled at Israeli cars.

Barak said committee members involved in the escorts face prosecution. He added that vigilante actions disrupt the army's efforts to ensure security.

"Responsibility for enforcing law and order in Judea and Samaria rests with the IDF and security forces," he wrote. "It is forbidden for any group to take the liberty of acting in these matters."

In a reply to Barak, Ben-Yishai said his group would continue the escort patrols, which he called "an example of good citizenship." He said his example should be emulated by settlers in other parts of the West Bank, and he charged that the IDF had not done enough to ensure security along West Bank roads.

In Nabulus yesterday, soldiers barred settlers from entering Joseph's Tomb, following an incident earlier in the day in which the settlers broke into the area and were evicted.

On eve of crucial inner cabinet debate

Talking tough — but still seeking to avert crisis

By BENNY MORRIS
and LEA LEVAVI

Foreign Ministry political director-general Yossi Beilin yesterday charted a way of bridging the Likud-Labour divide concerning an international conference. Foreign Minister Peres and Prime Minister Shamir (both) sought to score last-minute points before today's possibly crucial inner cabinet debate.

According to the Labour plan, Peres would receive cabinet approval to continue exploring ways of moving forward towards a peace conference, but would be limited by a series of conditions stipulated by the government as binding upon all potential participants.

Peres yesterday told visiting Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans that "Israel's hour of decision has struck" while Shamir, taking his cue from his guest, compared the prospective conference to Yalta — where in 1945 the Big Three carved up the world into spheres of influence — and dug in his heels.

Most observers believe, however, that the four hours allotted to today's meeting, which begins at 8 a.m., will not suffice and that a decision will be deferred either until tomorrow or until after Peres's return from his scheduled visit to North America, which is due to start on Wednesday.

Sources in the Prime Minister's Office said yesterday that Shamir had spoken on the phone during the day to all his Likud colleagues in the inner cabinet including Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon. All of them were said to have assured him that they would oppose an international conference.

During the past two weeks, Peres has repeatedly said, but with decreasing enthusiasm, that he expects one or two Likud ministers at the last moment to turn around and support his position. Over the weekend, a number of observers suggested that Sharon might be such a man.

Some Likud stalwarts, however, have suggested that Defence Minister Rabin might bolt from Labour's ranks and vote with Shamir. But Rabin yesterday made clear his support for Peres's initiative, calling it an unprecedented opportunity. Like Peres, he suggested that if the Likud blocked the peace process, Labour would probably have to go to elections. He proposed inviting U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz to the region to undertake a peace shuttle.



Prime Minister Shamir and Vice Premier Peres at yesterday's cabinet meeting. (Rahamim Israeli)

Beilin, who was careful to say that he was not speaking as Peres's spokesman, suggested that the foreign minister could seek inner cabinet approval for a formula empowering him to continue exploring ways to convene an international conference while attaching to Israel's actual participation a number of conditions: that the PLO would not participate, that the Soviet Union and China must first establish relations with Israel, that the Soviets must substantially increase Jewish emigration, that the conference plenum have no coercive powers and will not interfere in the deliberations of the bilateral committees.

Beilin said that Israel could be backed in posing these conditions by clear memorandum of understanding with the U.S.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Nafsu case

Outrage over bid to change the law

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Politicians and senior government attorneys are up in arms over a proposal to legalize hit-and-run interrogation techniques used by the Shin Bet.

The proposal was presented to cabinet ministers last week by the head of the Shin Bet (General Security Service), with the approval of Attorney-General Yosef Harish.

An offshoot of the last Nafsu Supreme Court appeal, the proposed law would legalize interrogation techniques which the Shin Bet claims have been in use for the past 20 years. Under the law, evidence gained by these methods would become admissible in court for the first time.

The High Court of Justice yesterday rejected Nafsu's petition to allow publication of some of the legal material in his case. Nafsu, a Circassian former IDF officer serving an 18-year prison term on charges of treason and espionage, claims that he was framed and has appealed his conviction to the Supreme Court. He had sought the publication in order to counter what he described as "distorted information" about him leaked to the media.

According to the court, the petition constituted a "double hearing" since the Supreme Court is scheduled to review the evidence in the Nafsu case when his principal appeal is heard on May 24.

Nafsu himself was not present during the hearing, which was held behind closed doors, but more than (Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Radio Monte Carlo reports:

Jordan wants Syria at conference

Post Middle East Staff and Agencies

Jordan is reportedly demanding Syrian participation in an international peace conference, raising new questions about Amman's conditions for convening the meeting, Radio Monte Carlo said yesterday.

But in Cairo, a senior U.S. official yesterday cited progress in negotiations towards a conference.

"We think things are moving... there is significant progress in that direction," U.S. roving envoy Wai Cluverius told reporters after meeting with Egyptian Foreign Minister Esmat Abdel-Meguid.

Cluverius has been involved in hammering out an agreement with Jordan on the terms for an international conference, despite Jordanian

denials of such an accord.

Unnamed Jordanian sources in Amman told Radio Monte Carlo that "certain circles are excited prematurely" about the prospects for a peace conference — an apparent reference to Foreign Minister Peres's recent optimism about an impending meeting.

"We would never come to an international conference to talk to Israel if Syria didn't agree and didn't come," the Jordanian sources were quoted as saying.

"Russia is pushing Syria," well-placed Jordanian sources told *The Post*. "If Jordan can get Syria to join and the PLO declines, then Jordan still will go ahead."

Jordan's King Hussein is quoted in this week's issue of *Newsweek* as

saying that Syrian President Hafez Assad would be willing to participate in an international peace conference if it convened. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev told Assad the international conference was an opportunity that shouldn't be missed, the magazine said.

Kuwaiti Radio also reported yesterday that the Syrians are willing to join an international conference on Jordan's terms, which include the recognition of Security Council Resolution 242 and the renunciation of terrorism.

But Radio Monte Carlo said Syria is continuing to insist on its official demand that Israel announce its withdrawal to its 1967 borders prior to the peace conference.

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

10.5.87	MIN.	C	F	MAX.	WIND
AMSTERDAM	4	39	10	57	Cloudy
BIRMINGHAM	7	45	19	60	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	14	57	19	66	Cloudy
CHICAGO	13	55	29	65	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	5	41	17	63	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	5	41	23	73	Cloudy
GENEVA	3	37	23	73	Cloudy
HELSINKI	2	35	23	73	Cloudy
HONGKONG	23	73	21	81	Clear
JERUSALEM	18	64	25	77	Clear
LONDON	14	57	21	70	Clear
MADRID	9	48	26	79	Clear
MONTREAL	5	41	22	72	Clear
NEW YORK	18	64	26	79	Clear
OSLO	2	35	12	54	Clear
PARIS	13	55	26	79	Clear
RUSSKAYE	17	63	29	84	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	4	39	49	66	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	4	39	14	57	Clear
TOKYO	15	59	27	81	Clear
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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Cooler than usual with chances of isolated showers in the north and centre.

Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
Humidity	Min-Max	Min-Max
Jerusalem	42	7-18
Golan	46	8-18
Nabatieh	48	10-21
Salaf	58	8-16
Haifa Port	71	14-22
Tiberias	45	12-26
Nazareth	43	11-23
Afula	51	10-23
Shimon	39	11-20
Tel Aviv	68	13-22
B-G Airport	47	12-23
Jericho	32	17-27
Gaza	64	14-21
Beersheba	23	11-23
Eilat	16	17-31

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Prof. Stephen Goldstein has been chosen dean of the Hebrew University's Faculty of Law, succeeding Prof. Yitzhak Engelhardt.

ARRIVALS

Lenore Feldman, president, Barbara A. Mandel, immediate past president, and Daffie Perlov, executive director, National Council of Jewish Women, U.S., for board meeting of the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education at the Hebrew University, School of Education.

Mrs. Rena Auerbach, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Berlin, Mrs. Anne Firestone, Mrs. Jean Friskoff, Mrs. Esther Katz, Mrs. Molly Schreiber, Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Sherman, Dr. and Mrs. Eugene Terkin, Mr. and Mrs. Milton Zelon (from U.S.); Mr. and Mrs. Mel Zwiig (Canada) as guests of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev to participate in the 17th annual Board of Governors meeting.

Mr. and Mrs. Maurice Goldschlager, vice chairman, board of governors, TAU (from France) for the Maurice and Gabriela Goldschlager School of Dental Medicine at Tel Aviv University; Mr. and Mrs. Henri Glasberg (from France) and Mrs. Simone Mallah (from Argentina) for the annual meeting of the board of governors of Tel Aviv University.

SLA man wounded

ROSH HANIKRA: - A South Lebanese Army soldier was wounded by a bomb that exploded on a road along the northern border of the security zone in South Lebanon yesterday morning, SLA sources reported.

The incident occurred while a squad of SLA troops were on routine patrol.

The wounded soldier was taken by helicopter to Rambam Hospital in Haifa.

NAFSU

(Continued from Page One)

a dozen of his relatives awaited the court's ruling in the courtroom halls.

His cousin, Nihad, told reporters that the Supreme Court was bound to find Izat Nafsu innocent and that "the whole Circassian community" would rejoice after May 24.

The court said that the media reports on the Nafsu case would not decide his fate or influence the judges who hear his appeal. But the court did draw the attorney-general's attention to media reports that appeared to have violated the secrecy ban imposed by the military courts on Nafsu's original proceedings and to have broken the rules of sub judice.

In consultations over the past month, the Shin Bet has asserted that improper techniques used to interrogate Nafsu reflected standard Shin Bet practice in the investigation of security offenders.

The Shin Bet has claimed that it has never adhered to the so-called "Judges Rules" which regulate permissible interrogation methods, and that its operatives have consistently committed perjury in court proceedings aimed at establishing the admissibility of evidence.

The proposed law would, in effect, create different legal standards for police and Shin Bet interrogations. It is aimed at averting a Supreme Court order to initiate a criminal investigation against Nafsu's Shin Bet investigators.

MK Mordechai Virshupski (Shinui) yesterday said that if such a proposal had indeed been made, Harish and the head of the Shin Bet were both "unfit to serve in the public service of a democratic country."

MK Yossi Sarid (Citizens Rights Movement) called on the cabinet to dismiss the "nightmarish" idea. Sarid said that the Shin Bet must conform to the law, and not the law to the Shin Bet.

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Israel air attacks boosted against the Palestinians

In the past three weeks, Israeli jets and helicopters have stepped up their attacks on targets near Palestinian refugee camps in Southern Lebanon.

The IDF spokesman's laconic statements after these attacks do not tell the full story. Often they sound like word-for-word repetitions of previous announcements.

But a review of these terse statements clearly points to an increase in the number of attacks. There were four raids during January, two in February, two in March, one during the first half of April and six since April 19.

These attacks, military sources point out, are a response to growing terrorist activity. On April 19, a Fatah squad crossed the border near Manara to try to attack an Israeli settlement, thus ending a nine-month lull in such attempts.

Last Thursday, Fatah tried again. A terrorist squad sought to reach Nahariya carrying 25 grenades and six rockets.

The Golan infantry soldiers blocked the incursions, but the attempts made an impact on decision-makers here. So did the Katyusha rockets that slammed into Kiryat Shmona recently.

Intelligence data gathered here were another impetus to stepped-up attacks. The information showed that Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and other Palestinian organizations were rebuilding the infrastructure destroyed when the IDF invaded Lebanon in 1982.

"A squad like the one caught Thursday cannot walk from Sidon southwards, hiding from Unifil. Amal and others, without help," a military source said yesterday.

Efforts to attack Israel also in-

ANALYSIS

Joshua Brilliant

Increased after the recent Palestine National Council meeting in Algiers, and after the Syrians put an end to the fighting with Amal. The Palestinians no longer had to worry as much about defending themselves against the Shi'ite militias outside their doorstep and could shift to attacks on Israel.

Israeli attacks sometimes also hinged on the availability of suitable

SIDON (Reuters). - Thousands of Palestinians fearing further Israeli attacks fled from Ain Hilwe refugee camp in South Lebanon yesterday to seek shelter in and around the port of Sidon.

Witnesses said at least a fifth of the camp's estimated 80,000 residents left the shantytown to take refuge with friends and relatives or in empty buildings. Most of those leaving were women and children.

Friday's attack is a case in point. The targets "were structures which terrorist organizations used as headquarters and training bases for attacks on Israel."

But all this does not fully explain the increase in the number of Palestinian casualties in air attacks. In the past, reports from Lebanon said no one was hurt, because camp occupants left the buildings before the planes struck.

Israeli officials questioned in the past few days insisted there had been no change in policy. What had changed was that Palestinian organizations moved their headquarters

into refugee camps, expecting Israel to be reluctant about striking there lest civilians were hit.

The officials insisted the May 6 attack, for example, was directed at structures used by Yasser Arafat, Nayef Hawatme and Ahmed Jibril's organizations. Ten people were reportedly killed and 28 wounded.

Military sources said, they were particularly careful on Friday, attacking targets belonging to Arafat and Hawatme four kilometres east of the Ain Hilwe refugee camp. They denied that civilians were killed and cited a Phalangist radio report quoting Palestinian sources as saying that 10 killed and 28 injured were hit at the entrance to an arms depot.

The feeling is that the attacks have disrupted PLO activities forcing the organization's members to establish headquarters in less convenient localities.

The constant fear of being attacked must bear down psychologically on the PLO fighters sources here added. Certainly, the destruction of headquarters, the possible damage to plans for attacks on Israel - and the killing of the planners - could impede operations.

The attacks have also affected Lebanese civilians.

In Tyre, Lebanese residents began cleaning up shelters, a source in the area told *The Jerusalem Post*. He said the residents have grown used to the one or two Israeli flights a day but last week IAF planes circled over the area and they feared it was a prelude to an attack on one of the refugee camps which are close to town. Few packed up and left town.

The Shi'ite villagers, on the other hand, have not been concerned with these attacks. "They wouldn't mind seeing the Palestinians clobbered," the source maintained.

CABINET

Shamir concluded the 90-minute conversation by saying to Tindemans: "Leave off the region's countries and allow the Middle Eastern states to reach a settlement by themselves."

Earlier, Shamir, speaking on Israel Television's *Erev Hadash* programme, reiterated that he had "proof" that Labour was willing to negotiate with the PLO.

Menachem Shalev adds: The National Religious Party Bureau last night rejected Peres's proposals for an international conference in their present form, but left the door open.

During a tense three-hour meeting in Tel Aviv, Yehuda Ben Meir resisted efforts by the more extreme wing of the NRP, led by MK Haim Drukman and Haim Porat, for an outright rejection of Peres's position. The bureau called on the cabinet to agree to a "further examination" of current proposals for negotiations with Jordan, setting three conditions for Israeli participation: non-participation of the PLO; a clear prior understanding of the procedures to be followed by the negotiating forum; and cabinet agreement on Israel's position at the talks.

Shamir latched onto Tindemans's comparison with Yalta, and said that this was precisely what he too, objected to.

POLLARD

(Continued from Page One)

Dr. Harvey Pollard, Jonathan Pollard's brother, arrived in Israel last night to attend a medical conference at the Haifa Technion.

When he arrived at Ben-Gurion Airport, he avoided newsmen who wanted to ask him questions about his brother.

Harvey Pollard, an expert on human membranes, is a researcher at the National Institute of Health laboratories in Bethesda, Maryland, near Washington.



Two Gush Emunim supporters in keffiyehs are prevented from disturbing last night's Peace Now demonstration in Jerusalem. (Rahamim Israeli)

Scuffles at Peace Now demonstration

By SUSAN BELLOS

Jerusalem Post Reporter

"It's simply not true that the development towns are anti-peace. We share Shimon Peres's dream, because only when there is peace will this society be able to achieve equality," Amir Peretz, chairman of the Sderot Local Council, said last night.

He was speaking to about 1,000 Peace Now supporters who took part in a torchlight procession, which earlier disrupted traffic on Jerusalem's Rehov King George.

Although it was a generally peaceful demonstration, there were scuffles at one stage with an estimated 200 Kach and Gush Emunim supporters, who carried placards accusing the Peace Now followers of being PLO supporters.

In contrast to previous Peace Now demonstrations, last night's march, which ended with a rally outside the prime minister's residence in Rehavia, was distinguished by the presence of people from the less affluent neighbourhoods and a sprinkling of religious Jews.

There was also a contingent of over 150 members of the Hanorah Ha'oved youth movement.

Peace Now promises a series of demonstrations this week, beginning at 8 a.m. today outside the Prime Minister's Office, on the theme of "Give peace a chance."

Bomb in Kfar Sava

KEFAR SAVA (Item).

A small bomb exploded yesterday morning in the middle of Kfar Sava. No one was injured.

Police detained about 40 Arabs, but released them all during the afternoon.

The bomb was placed in a bin used to collect paper on Rehov Ben-Gurion, corner Herzl.

Children from the nearby kindergarten were evacuated immediately after the explosion, and the area was closed to traffic until 2:30 p.m. while police searched the area for additional bombs.

Responsibility for the explosion was taken by Abu Mussa's break-away Fatah group.

Former refusenik dies on way to Israel

Former refusenik Yuri Shepeizman died yesterday in Vienna on his way to Israel, the Public Council for Soviet Jewry reported last night.

Shepeizman, 55, had lymph cancer. He had waited 10 years for an exit visa.

Herut tribunal to moot expulsion of Arye Naor

By MENACHEM SHALEV

Post Political Reporter

An internal Herut tribunal decided yesterday to consider a demand to expel former cabinet secretary Arye Naor from the party's ranks.

The complaint, lodged by Limor Livnat, a Herut official, alleges that Naor violated party rules by joining an information team set up by Foreign Minister Peres to promote and explain the peace process, including the divisive issue of an international conference.

The team, which is scheduled to meet several times before presenting Peres with recommendations, also includes former Foreign Ministry director-general Shlomo Avineri, Ashkelon mayor Eli Dayan (who recently joined Labour), Aloph and Shulamit Hareven, Foreign Ministry information director Collette Avital and Peres aide Uri Savir and his wife Aliza, who works in the

ministry's Information Division. Livnat claims that Naor violated the Herut disciplinary code and a Herut prohibition on joining non-party public political bodies.

Naor served as cabinet secretary under former prime minister Menachem Begin from 1977 to 1982. Since his resignation, Naor has published numerous articles in *The Jerusalem Post* and in other papers which were harshly critical of Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon and were increasingly at odds with mainstream Herut policies. He has come out in support of Peres's recent initiatives for an international conference.

Prime Minister Shamir said on Educational Television's *Erev Hadash* programme yesterday that he was "sorry" that Naor had joined his rival's camp, and added that "even when Naor was cabinet secretary, we did not derive much satisfaction from him."

CONVERSION

(Continued from Page One)

that Varela's conversion certificate "contains irregularities with regard to the dates," and said "the signatures of the witnesses are illegible, which prevents me from contacting them for the purpose of investigation."

There was no reference to Julia Varela's conversion in the statement.

Sobel did add that "if it is indeed verified that Mr. Murilo Pinto Varela converted to Judaism," then he should be registered as a Jew. The rabbi's statement then gives a spirited defence of pluralism in Judaism and attacks "the radicalism of the Orthodox in Israel."

In a telephone interview with *The Jerusalem Post*, Sobel confirmed that he did indeed have doubts concerning the validity of the conversion. Any such ceremony should have been noted in the records of the congregation, he maintained.

The Congregacao Israelita Paulista, with thousands of members and a four-rabbi staff, is the largest Jewish congregation in Latin America. Though Sobel is a graduate of the Reform Hebrew Union College and

a member of the Reform rabbinical association, the congregation is not officially affiliated to any religious stream. Rabbi Rittner, in fact, is a graduate of the Conservative Seminario Rabbinico Latino Americano in Buenos Aires.

The *Post* contacted Rittner, but he refused to comment on the issue.

Tel Aviv attorney Yosef Ben-Menashe, who is representing the Varelas, told *The Post* that Rittner had had his own rabbinical seat which conformed to the norms of Conservative Judaism.

In fact, Ben-Menashe intends to argue that Shas's attack on Reform Judaism is irrelevant. According to him, the conversion conforms with Halacha, even if it was performed by a non-Orthodox rabbi.

Ben-Menashe claimed that the issue had arisen because of a personal clash between the two Latin American rabbis.

DENVER BOOT. - A 25-year-old Haifa man was found guilty yesterday of damaging a Denver Boot, which he pried off his car, and given a 60-day suspended sentence by the Haifa Magistrates' Court.

Mexican energy minister here

Jerusalem Post Staff

Mexican Energy Minister Alfredo Del Mazo arrived in Israel yesterday for a four-day visit and pledged to expand trade and economic development between the two countries.

Israel is Mexico's fourth-largest oil consumer: last year it purchased some \$300 million of oil from that country, while Mexico purchased \$15m. of goods here.

POLLARD

(Continued from Page One)

hoping that they both can be together in the not-too-distant future in Israel. We, too, thank you, in the same way as our children."

The Pollards said that of the money collected, \$100,000 went to pay their son's Washington lawyer, Richard Hibe, while the other \$50,000 went to pay their daughter-in-law's lawyer, James Hibe. The Hibe's are brothers.

Ya'acov Friedler adds from Haifa: -

AMIT WOMEN
(formerly American Mizrahi Women)
deeply mourns the passing of

ETHEL KATE LIFSHITZ
former national executive secretary and New York regional director
and extends sincere condolences to her children
Dr. David M. and Mrs. Maier, Jerusalem
Mr. and Mrs. Hillel Maier, Chicago, Illinois
and her family in Israel.

AMIT WOMEN, USA AMIT WOMEN, Israel

In deep sorrow, we announce the passing of

ETHEL SITKOFF
Sayvon

Beloved wife, mother and grandmother
The funeral took place yesterday,
Sunday, March 10, 1987, at 4 p.m.,
at the Sayvon cemetery.

The Bereaved
Family

To executive board member
Lou Sitkoff and family
we share your deep grief on the death of

ETHEL י"ל

Board of executives
and staff
Z.O.A. House

We announce with great sorrow the passing in her 89th year of

ETHEL KATE LIFSHITZ י"ל

Widow of Rabbi Maier Lifshitz.
The funeral will take place at the Sanhedria Cemetery,
today, Monday, May 11, 1987, at 1:00 p.m.
Prof. David and Shila Maier
Hillel and Marilyn Maier
Grandchildren and Great-grandchildren
Shiva at 36 Rambam St., Jerusalem.

The International Board of Directors,
Executive Committee, Management and Staff
of the Shaare Zedek Medical Center, Jerusalem
share in the grief of

Professor David M. Maier
former Director-General
on the passing of
his mother

ETHEL KATE LIFSHITZ י"ל
המקום ינחם אותך בתוך שאר אבלי ציון וירושלים.

We mourn the passing of a woman of valour

Rebbetzin CHASSIA SOROTZKIN י"ל

of Kiryat Teitz-Stone, formerly of Teitz,
Lithuania and Cleveland, Ohio,
wife of Rabbi Eliezer Sorotzkin,
daughter of Rabbi Eliyahu Meyer Bloch

The deceased's casket will arrive today (Monday)
at 4:00 p.m. on El Al flight No. 016.

For further details, please call
Tel. 02-341516, 814804, 341259, 343745.

The Family Teishe Yeshiva - Israel
Kiryat Teitz-Stone

Profound sympathy is extended to
Yocheved Harpaz and family
on the sudden passing of

Prof. YITZCHAK (Isaac) HARPAZ י"ל

He is deeply mourned by
The Directors of
the Mauerberger Foundation, Cape Town,
and Mr. and Mrs. Solly Yach

We deeply mourn the death of our beloved son and brother

MICHAEL DAVID BIRNS י"ל
age 39
on May 8, 1987, Iyar 9, 5747

Jack and Shayne Birns Debbie Birns
Jeff and Debbie Birns Eric Birns
Abigail Birns

Jerusalem and Los Angeles

Ellav and Jacki Bar-Hai, Kfar Adumim

SHULAMIT RICHTER
(widow of Jacob Richard י"ל)

has passed away

The funeral will take place today, Monday, May 11, 1987,
leaving at 11:00 a.m. from the Sanhedria, Jerusalem,
Funeral Parlour for Har Hamenuhot, Givat Shaul.

The Family

On the second anniversary of his passing
we remember our dear

FRANK ALLEN SAXE
of Boston and St. Louis, U.S.A.

Deeply missed by:
His wife: Dorothy Dricker Saxe
Daughter and son-in-law:
Maxine Saxe Ray - Joseph Ray
and grandchildren: Cheryl, Benjamin,
Alexander and Rebecca

סדרה א' ו' א"ל

Pilot of ill-fated plane avoided peopled area Black box may explain crash

WARSAW (AP). — Searchers yesterday found the flight recorder box that may reveal why a Polish jetliner crashed, killing all 183 people aboard, officials said.

One scheduled passenger remained alive because she arrived at the airport too late to board.

The New York-bound Lot Polish Airlines charter flight crashed Saturday in a wooded area 5 km. short of the runway at Warsaw's Okęcie international airport. The pilot had reported engine trouble and tried to return to Warsaw for an emergency landing.

Police sealed off the crash sight where representatives of a special government commission and forensic crews picked through the debris.

Stefan Pozniak, a spokesman for the Transport Ministry, said the so-called Black Box, which contains vital flight information, had been found in the wreckage and was being analyzed.

A statement issued by the Civil Aviation Board yesterday said it was too early to state the reasons for the crash, the world's worst air disaster this year. Pozniak said the special commission would issue its first statement after a midday meeting today.

State radio and witnesses said at least one of the plane's engines caught fire, prompting the pilot to

abort the Warsaw control tower about 25 minutes into the flight that he was heading back to the city.

The pilot, Capt. Zygmunt Pawlaczek, also radioed that his altitude control mechanisms were failing, according to one semi-official source who spoke on condition of anonymity. The official news agency PAP said civil aviation authorities had listened to recordings of Pawlaczek's com-

unications with the control tower, and according to one televised report, his last words were: "This is the end. We are saying farewell. Good-bye."

In his final act, the captain diverted the Soviet-built Ilyushin-62 jetliner from a residential area and toward the Kabaty woods, where it plunged to the ground and exploded in a ball of fire and broke into hundreds of pieces, the Polish TV report said.

Prime Minister Shamir yesterday extended condolences to the Polish people for the loss suffered in Saturday's crash.

Shamir was speaking at a ceremony to mark the 50th anniversary of the establishment of civil aviation in the country.

State authorities declared a two-day period of mourning for the victims of the crash, closing all movie houses and theatres in Warsaw province and cancelling other public entertainment events.

State television and radio substituted more somber programming yesterday to commemorate the victims.

One scheduled passenger on the ill-fated flight, Janina Smole, who was upset Saturday morning when an airport customs officer caused her to miss her flight, said that moments later she was thanking him for saving her life.

Smole, 45, a Polish emigrant who expects to become a U.S. citizen next year, said she was one of the last passengers to check in for the flight because she had arrived late at the airport after driving with her son almost 200 km. from the city of Lomza in northeastern Poland.

The flight carried a crew of 11 and 172 passengers, the majority of them Poles and Polish-Americans bound for the U.S. to visit family and friends.

Polish authorities reported 17 holders of U.S. passports aboard the plane, but officials at the U.S. embassy confirmed that at least five other passengers held Polish consular passports and had dual Polish-American citizenship.

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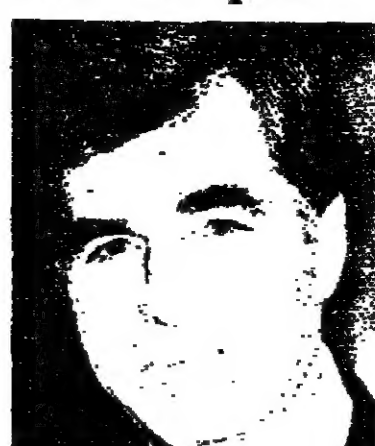
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Dukakis heads Democrat hopes after Hart quits



Michael Dukakis (AFP)

LOS ANGELES (AP). — Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis is leading in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination, according to a *Los Angeles Times* poll released yesterday.

Results also showed voters were equally split on whether Gary Hart lied about the incident that led to his dropping out of the race, said the *Times* poll, which has a 4 per cent margin of error.

By 60 per cent to 31 per cent, the 1,118 eligible voters polled said they did not want the former U.S. senator to abandon his campaign for the nomination because of rumours about womanizing and a *Miami Herald* report that Hart, who is married, spent most of last weekend with a 29-year-old model.

Only Democrats were asked whom they would support without Hart in the race.

Twelve percent favoured Dukakis. Civil rights leader Jesse Jackson and New York Governor Mario Cuomo, (who has said he is not running), tied at 7 per cent, and Senator Albert Gore and Congressman Richard Gephardt tied at 6 per cent.

Four white farmers slain in Zimbabwe

HARARE. — Armed bandits attacked a farmers club near the central Zimbabwe town of Gweru Saturday night and shot down four white farmers, police said.

It was one of the worst incidents of armed violence in Zimbabwe in two years.

The assailants, who escaped before police arrived, were believed to be members of Zimbabwe's minority Ndebele tribe, some of whom are fighting the government of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

Killed instantly while playing darts instantly were Thys Lourens, aged about 40, Glyn Williams, 48, and Allan Dicks, 70. A fourth player, 46-year-old Roy Fetter, escaped the first salvo but was fatally wounded moments later. (Reuters.AFP)

MALTA. — Election officials yesterday began the painstaking process of hand-counting ballots cast in a close election that drew a record voter turnout on this politically divided Mediterranean island, but results were not expected before late last night or this morning.

Not surprisingly, mail-order bride firms have been denounced by feminist groups and in *Ms* magazine.

Andrea Sigler of the Washington-based National Council of Disadvantaged Mail-Order and Military Brides asserted that some of these brides are physically abused, or worse.

One from the Philippines was recently found dead in Honolulu, her body stuffed in a dustbin. Her husband was charged with murder.

S. Africa Zulu chief sees rule by junta

JOHANNESBURG (AP). — Zulu chief Gata Buthezi suggested yesterday that South Africa may be headed for rule by a white military junta, resulting in more repression and more black anger.

Buthezi, an Anglican who opposes violence as a way to win black rights, told a prayer gathering in the KwaZulu homeland he heads that the right-wing victory in the May 6 white parliamentary election was "the devil's hour of glory."

He said whites had increased the anger of moderate, peace-loving blacks by rejecting an opportunity to break the upward spiral of violence.

In other developments yesterday, a mini-limpet mine exploded in a telephone booth at Roodeport train

station 20 kilometres west of Johannesburg. It slightly injured a white man and a mixed-race man in the ticket office, blew a hole in the roof of the station, and shattered windows in shops across the road. It was the seventh bombing in six days.

The 600,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions, the largest black labour federation, denied police allegations that railway workers who ignored a strike call may have been killed at the federation's Johannesburg headquarters.

Two men were killed in fighting between small groups of workers at the Leslie Goldmine near Evander. Others received light injuries, and the company said it was trying to determine the cause of the trouble.

'Butcher of Lyon' goes on trial today

By MICHEL ZLOTOWSKI

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
LYON. — The Barbie trial is due to start at 1 p.m. today, four years after his extradition from Bolivia, 43 years after the crimes he committed in Lyon.

Barbie, the "Butcher of Lyon", 73, was said by his lawyer Jacques Vergès to be in poor health. In order to prevent accidents, the court has been redesigned, so that the prisoner can rest between sessions without having to be transferred to his cell in the Saint-Joseph prison, where he has been kept since 1983. Barbie will even be able to sleep on the premises, if necessary, with a physician at hand.

After a few weeks at the Fort Montluc jail, where he was said to have tortured his prisoners during World War II, Barbie was taken to the Saint-Joseph prison, to a three-room apartment. Barbie allegedly spent his time there reading Homer.

For the past two days, the area around the Court of Justice has been sealed off by police forces. About 300 policemen and gendarmes have been put on special duty, but the

Lyon authorities fear that the mass-media concentration could trigger incidents, and asked for more troops.

Police officials said that the dozen or so registered "nostalgic die-hard Nazis" would be under special surveillance, and that the Israeli journalists covering the trial would "enjoy increased protection."

In fact, on Saturday, Joan of Arc Day, about 300 young right-wing militants, wearing black shirts, marched in the streets of Lyon with flags of neo-Fascist organizations.

The Old Mole, (in French La Vieille Taupe) recently published a cartoon by Konk, of *Le Monde*, questioning the reality of the gas chambers. The same publisher previously printed the so-called "revisionist" historical theories of Professor Faurisson, who also said that the gas chambers were an invention.

Only 60 members of the public at a time will attend the hearings. Another 400 seats have been reserved for the press. As 800 journalists received accreditation, entrance to the Courtroom will be problematic, at least during the first days.

Beirut airport reopened

BEIRUT (AP). — Beirut's airport was reopened yesterday after a 99-day shutdown as unidentified bombers hurled ten sticks of dynamite into several Moslem districts, and Christian and Moslem snipers duelled across the capital's dividing Green Line.

No casualties were reported in the sporadic violence.

Airport officials said there were no passengers aboard the Boeing 727 of Middle East Airlines, Lebanon's flag carrier, when it flew in from Larnaca, Cyprus. An MEA statement said the airline's regular flights to Europe, Africa and the Gulf will resume today.

Despite yesterday's spluttering violence, reactivating the beachside airport was seen as a sign that Christian and Moslem leaders may be

moving towards settling a cabinet crisis triggered by Prime Minister Rashid Karamah's resignation.

Karamah, a Syrian-backed Sunni Moslem, cited the failure of his half-Christian, half-Moslem cabinet to cope with a worsening economic crisis when he resigned. He had demanded the reopening of the airport and all crossings between Beirut's Moslem and Christian sectors to help revive the economy.

President Amin Jemayel, a Maronite Catholic with whom Karamah has been increasingly at odds, has not decided yet whether to accept or reject Karamah's resignation.

Senior Jemayel advisers left for Damascus yesterday for talks with the Assad government on ways to end Jemayel's rift with Syria and resolve the cabinet crisis.



The Reagans leave the church yesterday with Bishop John McGann, following the funeral service for former CIA director William Casey at which the bishop rapped U.S. policy in Central America. (Reuter telephoto)

Reagan, at Casey's funeral, hears bishop rap his policy

NEW YORK (AP). — A Roman Catholic bishop criticized U.S. policy in Central America on Saturday in a eulogy at the funeral of former CIA director William Casey, while President Reagan and other administration officials listened.

Bishop John McGann said in his eulogy that "convictions about the fundamental moral purpose of American actions, I'm sure, made incomprehensible to him the ethical questions raised by me as his bishop... about our nation's defence policy since the dawn of the nuclear age."

In another eulogy, former UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick defended Casey's role in the Iran-Contra affair. Casey's death on Wednesday at the age of 74 left many questions about the scandal unanswered.

Reagan sat in a front row aisle seat directly to the left of Casey's white-draped coffin. Reagan's wife, Nancy, sat to the president's left, with former president Richard Nixon sitting next to her.

Casey collapsed from a brain seizure in December, just before he was scheduled to testify before a congressional committee on the diversion of money from Iranian arms sales to the Nicaraguan Contras.

Casey's family requested that in lieu of flowers, donations be sent to the William J. Casey fund for the Nicaraguan freedom fighters — a decision which prompted local clergymen to stage a protest about two kilometres from the church on Saturday.

Casey is survived by his wife, Sophia, and a daughter.

The U.S. government in 1985 and 1986 threatened and embarrassed Central American leaders opposed to the U.S.-backed Nicaraguan rebels, according to a report published Sunday in the *Miami Herald*.

Officials pressured leaders in Panama, Mexico and Honduras to back the Contras by withdrawing U.S. economic aid, leaking damaging documents and threatening support for an opposition group, the *Herald* reported in yesterday's editions.

The ins and outs of the mail-order-bride boom

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — Two years ago, officer James Jones of the Washington Police seemed a confirmed bachelor, unenthusiastic about "liberated" American women, whom he found too pushy and aggressive.

Today, at 40, Jones is happily married with a 10-month-old daughter.

His wife, the former Alice Pajo, 29, is a "mail-order bride" from the Philippines.

Jones found happiness through Rainbow Ridge, one of an estimated 100 U.S. mail-order bride companies that have sprung up in recent years as advertising bases for husband-hunting foreign women — sparking loud protests from feminists who say they treat women like merchandise, but drawing rave reviews from men like Jones.

"This is it — fantastic," Jones told Reuters.

No precise statistics are kept, but people in the business estimate that 6,000 mail-order marriages take place each year — half involving brides from Asia — compared with only a few hundred annually in the 1970s.

Jones seems to be a fairly typical case.

One day two-and-a-half years ago, he saw an advertisement for Rainbow Ridge in a magazine and sent his subscription fee.

He began receiving the firm's pub-

lications, crammed with photos of women, hoping to hear from marriage-minded Americans.

Island Blossoms magazine features Filipinas. Cherry Blossoms other Asian women. *Feminia* showcases Caucasian husband-hunters, many from Poland, Australia and New Zealand.

Jones focused on the Philippines, corresponding with 20 women and quickly deciding upon Pajo. He married her in Manila in 1985 and brought her home to the Washington suburbs.

Alice Jones said she shared her husband's enthusiasm for the marriage, but added, "I miss the Philippines so much."

Rainbow Ridge's competitors — with names like Sunshine Girls, Trans-Pacific Dream Makers, and Latin International — offer similar services. One features videotape interviews with prospective brides. Another specializes in women from Poland.

Nearly all provide brochures and picture magazines with comments from the prospective brides. Here are some examples:

"Mila (31), Philippine — 'homey type but convertible if required.'"

"Jin Hee (28), Korea — 'I'd like to correspond with men in any age if only he'd got sound mind.'"

"Suzy (24), Malaysia — 'my choice of my right guy can be anybody of any race/nationality.'"

Reips (24), Taiwan — 'I hope I can meet some people I love, and he love me. Can you give me this chance?'

John Broussard, a former sociology professor who owns the Hawaii-based Rainbow Ridge, said his company has taken off from nothing over the past few years and now grosses about \$500,000 annually, most of it from subscription fees.

He said business was booming for several reasons:

— Economics. Women from poor countries saw marriage to an American as the possible ticket to a better life;

— Gentlemanly reputation. Many mail-order bride candidates had heard that American men treated women with more courtesy and respect than they were used to at home;

— Bachelor gap. Many U.S. men born during the post-war baby boom want to marry women five to ten years younger and have trouble finding American mates. They are looking abroad; and

— Anti-feminism. The mail-order bride business has been stoked by a backlash against women's liberation.

Jones enthuses over Filipinas, saying they are "like my grand-

mother's generation, conventional and conservative."

Ads for many mail-order bride firms play to fantasies about submissive women in "the exotic East." Witness the following from a California-based Asian experience brochure:

"Congratulations," it says. "You have taken the first step towards discovery of an eternal treasure. This will happen when you find your number one Asian lady whose main objective in life is to please her husband. The enthusiasm shown and the pleasure they derive in accomplishing this goal is almost embarrassing... we wouldn't be at all surprised if you entertained thoughts of polygamy."

Not surprisingly, mail-order bride firms have been denounced by feminist groups and in *Ms* magazine.

Andrea Sigler of the Washington-based National Council of Disadvantaged Mail-Order and Military Brides asserted that some of these brides are physically abused, or worse.

One from the Philippines was recently found dead in Honolulu, her body stuffed in a dustbin. Her husband was charged with murder.

THE JERUSALEM ENGLISH SPEAKING THEATRE

Presents Paddy Chayefsky's Broadway hit

MIDDLE of the NIGHT

a comedy romance directed by Edmund Jonah

Thursday, May 14, 8:30 p.m.
Nahmani Theatre, Nahmani St., Tel Aviv.

The production has been chosen to represent Israel at the 1987 Dundalk International Drama Festival, Ireland.

Tickets available at: Hadran, Le'an, Rococo, Castel, Kanaf, and at the box office on the evening of the performance after 8:00 p.m.

Kibbutz Society Seminar for Visiting Academics

at Givat Haviva, May 28 and 29
Deadline for registration: May 21
Tel. 063-78944 — ask for Makor.

Line up for health

The Kupat Holim Spokesman's Office and the Health Education Department will be holding an:

Open Line for Public Health

Danger of Sunburn

A team of experts will answer telephoned inquiries from the public on Tuesday, May 12, 4-7 p.m.

Dr. David Michael, Beilinson Hospital
Dr. Avraham David, Meir Hospital
Dr. Varda Katznelson, Beilinson Hospital
Dr. Arye Ingbar, Beilinson Hospital
Dr. Deganit Rosemann, Ha'emek Hospital
Dr. Sharon Yisraelovitz, Ha'emek Hospital
Tel. 03-4335000 ext.

Listen to "Finger on the Pulse," Tuesday at 6 p.m. on Kol Yisrael's 2nd Programme.

For added health!
Kupat Holim Health Insurance Institution

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Open continuously every day

Eilat, Eilat Diamond Centre, Tel. 065-71615
We buy old gold

"Seek Peace and Pursue It"

As American and Canadian Jews, we affirm our commitment to a strong and democratic Israel, and to that highest of Jewish values, peace.

We join with members of the Israel government, our friends in Shalom Achshav, and all Israelis who support the current proposal for direct negotiations in the framework of an International Peace Conference.

We believe that it is in the interest of Jews everywhere that Israel pursue this, and every, opportunity to seek peace.

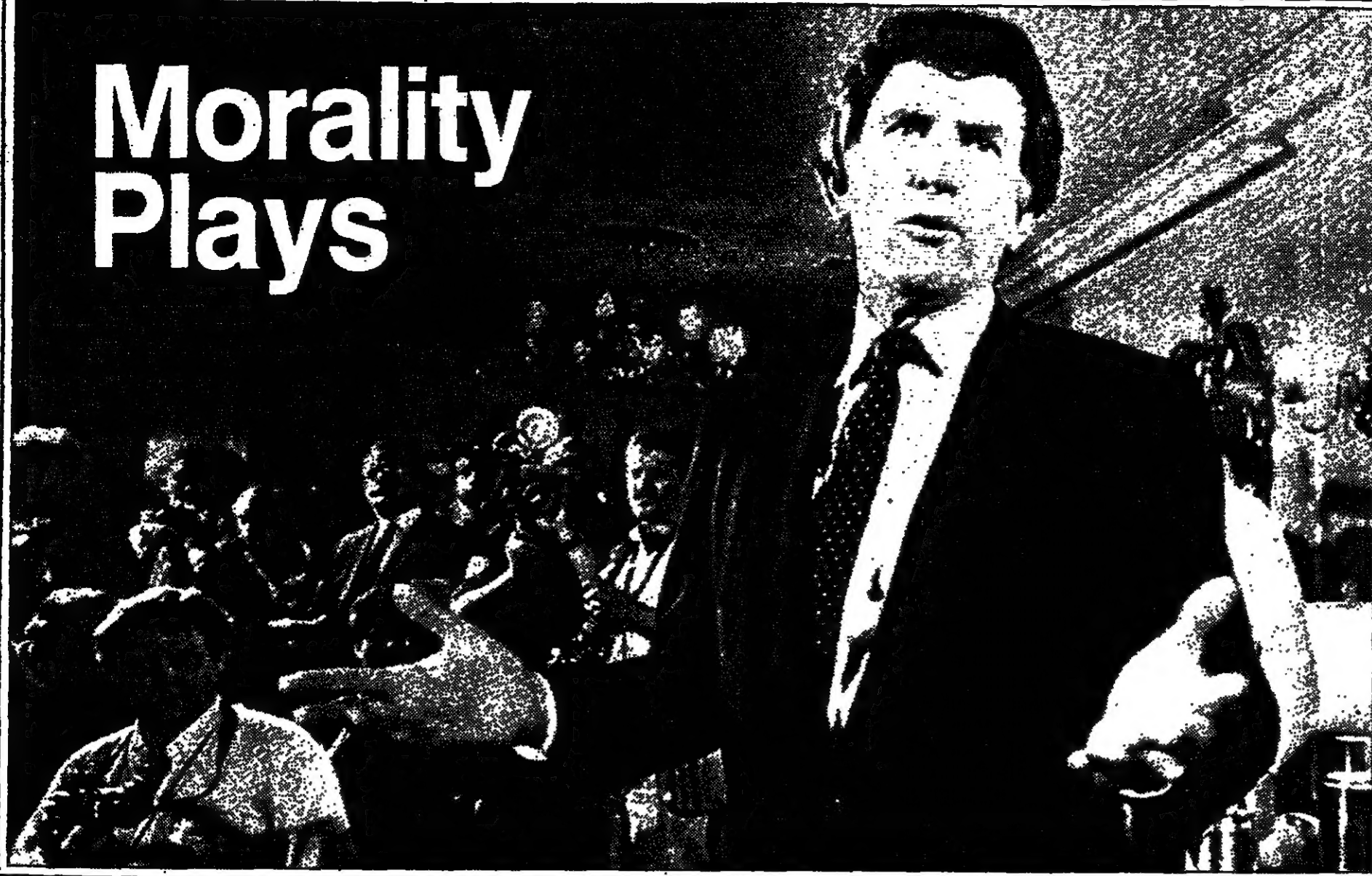
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|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Kenneth Arrow | Ed Edelman | Robert Perlmam |
| Bernard Avishai | Aileen Adams | Rabbi Sanford Ragins |
| Rabbi Leonard I. Beerman | Geoffrey Cowan | Robert S. Rifkind |
| Robert Brym | Ellen Levy | Henry Rosovsky |
| Gerald Bubis | Robert T. Gan | Rabbi Chaim Seidler-Feller |
| Steven M. Cohen | Leonard and Elaine Comess | Mel Shipman |
| Leonard Fein | Harriet Axelrad | Henry and Beate Vorenberg |
| Franklin M. Fisher | Ira and Alice Handelman | Trude Weiss-Rosmarin |
| Robert O. Freedman | Richard and Lois Gunther | Fred Zemans |
| Rabbi Laura Geller | Eric Chaim Kline | Stephen D. Stone |
| Frank Gutman | Willard and Rita Chotiner | Steven J. Zipperstein |
| Janet Hadda | Milli Guberman Kravetz | Sally Goodil |
| Philip Klutznick | David Guberman | Mitchell Cohen |
| Seymour Martin Lipset | Jayne Guberman | Maurice Commanday |
| Rabbi Marshall T. Meyer | Rabbi Harvey J. Fields | Rabbi Allen I. Freehling |
| Irving Cramer | Mark Rosenblum | Natan Gierowitz |
| Susan Weissman | Daniel Flesher | Rabbi Richard N. Levy |
| Simon Rosenblum | Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg | Ted and Rita Williams |
| Luis and Lee Lainer | Suzi and Wally Marks | Judith Glass |
| Rabbi Steven B. Jacobs | Rabbi Mark Loeb | Arnold Eisen |
| David S. Lifton | Paul Ephros | Gordon and Judy Davidson |
| Rabbi Martin Weiner | Joseph Low | Alan Sieroty |
| Gilbert Bettman, Jr. | Evan Mendelson Bayer | Rabbi Dan Polish |
| Rabbi Dan Bridge | Marilyn H. Friedman | Howard Kaplan |
| Beatrice Breslaw | Miriam F. Levy | Rita Hauser |
| Rabbi Leonard Thal | Yehuda Lev | Edward Asner |
| Elaine Attias | Paul Cowan | Rosanne Keyman |
| Jack and Edith Flier | Rachel Cowan | Rabbi Dan and Lynne Betiak |
| Sura Weiss | Rabbi Dov Gartenberg | Middie and Richard Giesberg |
| Rabbi Joel Rembaum | Lila Garrett | Stanley K. and Betty W. Scheinbaum |
| Carolyn Anagnos | Linda Rose | |

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North American Friends of Peace Now

Morality Plays



Gary Hart defending his association with Donna Rice, a Miami model, during a press conference in Hanover, N.H., last week.

A Would-Be President Fails The Test of 'Character'

By R. W. APPLE JR.

WASHINGTON
In announcing his withdrawal from the 1988 Presidential campaign on Friday, Gary Hart said that elections should be decided on issues.
That may be so. But American Presidential contests have usually and in recent years nearly always turned on character — what sort of men the electorate sensed the nominees to be. That was the downfall of Edmund S. Muskie in 1972, the making of Jimmy Carter in 1976 and the undoing of Mr. Hart this time, four weeks after his campaign formally began.
Mr. Hart is an unusual personality for a politician; he has said more than once that no one really knows him,

and he conceded on Friday that he had no gift for talking about himself. That personality alone made him unusually vulnerable, perhaps leading reporters to try harder to probe his character.
And that, in turn, had led during his 1984 campaign for the Democratic nomination to a whole series of revelations, involving his change of name, discrepancies in his age and in his record of Navy service and whispers about womanizing. These stories began to dog the 50-year-old former Senator from Colorado anew the very week he declared his candidacy for 1988.
So when the Miami Herald reported last Sunday that Mr. Hart had spent part of the weekend in Washington with a young model from Miami while his wife, Lee, was in Denver, the story struck a familiar note.
As his staff tried to sort out the truth, one old associ-

ate thought uneasily, he said later, "It's happening again — we can't get a straight story out of him." That same sense propelled the press forward, producing not only more details about Mr. Hart's relationship with the model, Donna Rice, but also stories about other liaisons with women.

Hordes of journalists, interested only in the infidelity story, accompanied the candidate to New Hampshire on a trip that was originally planned as a series of small, low-key events that voters there expect. "I do not have to answer that question," said Mr. Hart when asked point-blank by a reporter whether he had ever committed adultery. He found it impossible to put across his ideas on the issues because he himself had become the issue. Before dawn on Thursday, he and his wife, who had joined him after a day's delay, broke off their campaigning schedule and flew back to Denver.

An Impression of Untrustworthiness

In the next few hours, days after political professionals began to think The Herald's story had made the character issue a fatal one, Mr. Hart decided that things were not likely to change, that, as he put it in his speech Friday, "Clearly, under the present circumstances, this campaign cannot go on."

A New York Times/CBS News poll showed that

'I do not have
to answer
that question.'

Gary Hart,

when asked at a press conference
if he had ever
committed adultery.

voters consider cheating on one's spouse a lesser failing than, say, cheating on one's income taxes. But in a way, that was beside the point. It was not so much infidelity as an impression, right or wrong, of untrustworthiness that laid Mr. Hart low — that and a seeming disregard for the consequences of his actions.

That was evidenced in his spending time with Ms. Rice shortly after having challenged a reporter to follow him around to see if he really womanized. And it was hinted at in the former theology student's almost moralistic tone the day before his New Hampshire trip, when he told a meeting of newspaper publishers in New York City of his high standards of public and private conduct.

Larry Smith, Mr. Hart's longtime administrative assistant who quit just before the 1984 campaign, has not denied statements by friends that he left because he had become convinced that his boss had a dangerous feeling that he was "divine and above the rules." William Dixon, the campaign manager this time, quit early last week, and declined to comment when asked whether it was because he thought the Donna Rice incident showed a basic flaw in Mr. Hart's personality.

It may be that Mr. Hart would never have made it, despite his strong early lead in the public opinion polls. His campaign was already plagued by fund-raising problems, by internal conflict and by a concern that perhaps his constituency was too small. It may be that something in him guaranteed that he would be destroyed by crisis; at least some old friends, like the pollster Patrick Caddell, think so. If they are correct, then perhaps the system has worked, exposing the flaw early. But it is also true, as Mr. Hart said, that the kind of ordeal he has gone through is one thing that deters many able people from seeking the Presidency in the first place.

What lies ahead? Because New Hampshire and Iowa provide the early tests, politicians looked there first. In New Hampshire, the immediate beneficiary seems likely to be Gov. Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts, who according to recent polls has the backing of a quarter or more of the Democratic voters in the state.

But almost a half are undecided, and in Iowa no one has a clear lead. The Rev. Jesse Jackson, former Gov. Bruce Babbitt of Arizona and Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri have made intensive organizing efforts there. Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. of Delaware, a late starter, has campaigned extensively.

Because he has run before, and hence is known to many people with only a peripheral interest in politics, Mr. Jackson may well be declared the front-runner in the next series of national polls. But in fact, the playing field has been leveled. Such is the magnitude of the stunning events of the last extraordinary week that the new shape of a contest once defined as Hart vs. the Field will not be clear for months, if then.

Secord Tells How Top Officials Helped Him to Supply Arms

Spotlight Falls on the Secret World of a Master Operative

By JOEL BRINKLEY

WASHINGTON
AS the first week of hearings on the Iran-contra affair drew to a close, new questions had been raised about Ronald Reagan's involvement. But the public still had not learned what the President knew and when he knew it.
Illumination was thrown on the money trail, but millions of dollars remained unaccounted for. And while few members of Congress openly admitted the lead-off witness, Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord, for all he had done, opinion was divided on whether he was a greedy profiteer or a selfless patriot, acting, as he put it, "in furtherance of the President's policies" and "betrayed, abandoned" by the President's men.

During 22 difficult hours of questioning that grew to be as searing as the four days of television lights, General Secord never broke from his story or his erect and determined military manner. Congressmen reported that among their constituents the retired Air Force officer had picked up admirers.

As the retired general completed his testimony Friday evening he left the special Congressional committees and the American public with several vivid impressions.

Important among them was not only that the most senior of the President's aides, and perhaps even Mr. Reagan himself, were well aware of the covert activities carried out by General Secord and people working with him. It was also that those officials — including two successive national security advisors and the Director of Central Intelligence — enthusiastically offered moral and in some cases actual material support, to an "enterprise," as General Secord called it, that was in clear violation of Congressional intent.

"I discussed directly with them my activities," General Secord said, referring to the two former National Security Advisors, Robert C. McFarlane, who is scheduled to testify this week, and Rear Adm. John M. Poindexter. General Secord, the chief private operative behind both the sale of arms to Iran and the large-scale program to supply arms, medicine and other provisions to the contras, said all of that was done at the request of the Administration. As recently as 11 days ago, he said, Admiral Poindexter stopped by to see him and "shake my hand."

General Secord also said Admiral Poindexter had assured him months earlier that President Reagan knew what he was doing and appreciated his work. But the General is not sure whether President Reagan knew of

the diversion of money from the Administration's arms sales to Iran to the contras.

At the White House, meanwhile, officials said they were trying to put on a "business as usual" face. In fact, President Reagan started the week with a speech on Ellis Island, to the opening session of a meeting of American newspaper publishers, urging Congress to renew contra aid.

It was the link between the Iran arms sales and the contras, made public — prematurely and with gross inaccuracy, in General Secord's view — in November, that had elevated the affair from a problem to a scandal. And during the week the Senate committee's chief counsel, Arthur Liman, tried to portray the General as part of a potentially criminal conspiracy to violate Congressional intent.

At the same time, some viewers of the nationally televised hearings, and some members of the committees conducting them, concluded that "a great deal of blame" for the activities under investigation now "lies right here at the doorstep of Congress," as Representative William S. Broomfield, a Republican from Michigan, put it.

Congressional Ambivalence

Mr. Broomfield was referring to the welter of confusing and conflicting restrictions on contra aid that Congress had enacted over the last several years, including the so-called Boland Amendment prohibiting direct or indirect aid for two years, to October 1986. As much as anything else, the laws of the period were reflections of the legislators' shifting and ambivalent views.

But in the view of others, Congress shares blame in another manner as well, for failing to investigate thoroughly when word that Lieut. Col. Oliver L. North was running the contra war from the National Security Council first became public.

Lee Hamilton, the Indiana Democrat, then the chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, called an inquiry. After President Reagan, Colonel North and other Security Council officials denied any laws were violated, Mr. Hamilton dropped the inquiry. Now Mr. Hamilton is the chairman of the special House committee that, together with its Senate counterpart, is re-investigating the matter. Mr. Hamilton acknowledges that "in looking back, you could always say to yourself that we could have done a better job."

Testimony last week showed that in the 21 months since, the covert program grew broader and ever more ambitious, buying ships and planes, acquiring a large, paid staff. Political consultants were brought in to raise additional money; last week, Lawrence



Maj. Gen. Richard V. Secord (right), and his lawyer, Thomas C. Green, at hearing looking into the Iran-contra affair.

What has been learned

General Richard V. Secord, the first witness in Congressional hearings on the Iran-contra affair that are expected to last through July, appeared without immunity last week. Highlights of his testimony follow.

- William J. Casey and other Government officials offered intelligence support and advice to the operators of the private network to aid Nicaraguan rebels in apparent violation of the law.
- Lieut. Col. Oliver L. North said he had mentioned to the President that money from the Iran arms sales was diverted to the contras, but Colonel North may have been kidding.
- The contras got only \$3.5 million from the Iran arms sales, far less than the \$10 million to \$12 million originally believed.
- The General oversaw several additional covert projects, including plans to set up clandestine radio stations to broadcast propaganda into Cuba and disinformation into Libya.
- Vice President Bush called Colonel North to offer his condolences just after the Colonel had been fired in November and just before President Reagan made a similar call.
- General Secord shredded documents last November, including some on arms sales to Iran.
- He insisted he intended to keep none of the profits left over from the Iran arms sales; \$8 million sits in secret Swiss bank accounts.
- Although he ran his covert enterprise for more than two years, General Secord had managed not to put his signature on even one document.

E. Walsh, the special prosecutor in the case, got a guilty plea from one of them, Richard R. Miller, for conspiring to violate Federal income tax laws in the process. Mr. Miller implicated Colonel North in the scheme.

In November, when the arms sales to Iran became known and the covert program came undone, \$8 million dollars sat in several secret Swiss bank accounts. Through much of the week, General Secord was asked what

he had intended to do with all that money, whether he had intended to keep it.

Repeatedly he said he was entitled to it if he wanted it, since his enterprise was a private one, but that no, he would not. Perhaps it should be turned over to the United States Treasury, several members suggested. At week's end, General Secord proposed a way out. He said he would turn the money over to the William J. Casey Memorial fund.

Mr. Casey, who as the staunchly anti-Communist Director of Central Intelligence was considered likely to hold keys to the inquiry, was hospitalized in December for a malignant brain tumor, the day he was to testify. He died last week, the day after the joint intelligence hearings began. Under the terms of the fund, the disputed money, the last of the proceeds from the Iran arms sales, would go to the contras.

The World



Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres

Israeli Leaders Split Over Press Conference

Israel's Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, who is also head of the Labor Party, threatened last week to try to break up the country's 31-month-old government over the issue of a proposed international peace conference on the Middle East. Mr. Peres, a former Prime Minister, favors the talks, whose participants would include Israel, Jordan, a Palestinian delegation, the United States and the Soviet Union. But the conference was opposed by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, the leader of the Likud bloc.

Mr. Peres said that unless Mr. Shamir and the Likud cabinet ministers approved the idea, he would end the coalition and call for new national elections. He said he might force the issue tomorrow at a cabinet meeting. Mr. Peres said the conference would provide Israel with its greatest opportunity for making peace with Jordan and the Palestinians.

Mr. Shamir argued that such a conference would leave Israel isolated and open to pressure from Moscow to give up the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, which Israel captured in 1967. The Likud bloc, sensing public sentiment growing more favorable for an international conference, sought to portray Mr. Peres as ready to give up the captured lands and negotiate with the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasser Arafat. Mr. Peres said P.L.O. participation was not possible.

C.I.A.'s Supply Operation Is Proving Effective

Rebels Are Now a Force Within Nicaragua

By STEPHEN KINZER

A LONG a dirt road winding through Nicaragua's northern mountains, a patrol of Sandinista troops suddenly went on combat alert the other day after hearing a report that a rebel squad had just crossed the road less than a mile ahead.

Sweating profusely, automatic rifles at the ready, the soldiers, all teen-agers, moved steadily until they came to the spot where rebels had been spotted. The foe had apparently faded into the bush, leaving as calling cards mimeographed leaflets calling on Sandinista troops to defect.

But the crackling sense of proximate danger was palpable and there could be no doubt that here, as in several other parts of Nicaragua, the civil conflict is never far away.

In some villages of Jinotega Province, the pounding of mortars and the snap of automatic weapons fire have become regular parts of life. "More soldiers are passing by my place these days, soldiers from both sides," said a leathery farmer who tills a small plot of land near the border. In the city of Matagalpa, most of the people sitting in the central plaza on a recent morning didn't even bother to look up as two ferocious-looking Soviet-made Sandinista attack helicopters, their rocket pods fully loaded, circled lazily overhead.

These scenes illustrate that the rebels, known as contras, have moved into a new stage of their five-year-old war with the Sandinista Government. In recent months, virtually the entire contra force, as many as 10,000 men or more, has infiltrated successfully into Nicaragua from the bases in Honduras where rebel troops had languished for two years, hobbled by financial problems and limited to launching hit-and-run raids across the border.

The fact that so many contras are now able to operate permanently inside Nicaragua is due largely to the efficiency of the supply operation that has been organized for them by the Central Intelligence Agency.

American operatives, free from earlier congressional restrictions that limited their contact with rebel leaders, consider the success of the clandestine air resupply operation during the first months of 1987 to have been one of the major achievements of the entire war.

By one estimate, since January more than 100 plane-loads of weapons, ammunition, medicine and other supplies have been dropped to the contras by pilots flying secretly at night. And in a new tactic, the Americans have lately begun sending some supplies by boat to contra units operating near the Atlantic coast.

The contras' success at moving into Nicaragua reflects the value of the training and financing they received from the United States during the second half of 1986. To keep their war going, they need continued American help.

President Reagan has recently reiterated his belief



Contra rebel loading a canoe with packs and rifles last week on the Rio Bocay, a river in north-central Nicaragua.

that more American support for the contras is vital. But he has won Congressional approval for contra aid in the past only by slim margins. With the added difficulties that have arisen from the Iran-contra scandal, prospects for continued aid are uncertain. Contra leaders and their backers in Washington are acutely aware that the future of the entire project could turn on how much military success the contras can have between now and the time Congress votes on new aid, probably sometime next fall.

"Moving the contras into the country and getting the supply operation going smoothly was very important," said a diplomat who follows the progress of the war. "Now that they're here, they really don't need to do anything spectacular yet. When they have to do it is in July or August, when the vote is getting closer."

Intelligence reports circulating in Managua last week indicated that contras had overrun a Sandinista military outpost in east-central Nicaragua, but the Government reported no such attack. If the contras were to prove able to score such successes regularly, their backers would be overjoyed. But thus far, there have been few attacks on army posts.

More typical was the attack May 1 in which a tugboat carrying food to the Atlantic Coast town of Bluefields was halted and burned.

Such actions, which disrupt the economy and the flow of food supplies, demonstrate that the contras are active outside the capital, but they do not generate popular support for the contra cause. On the contrary, they demonstrate why the contras have failed to win substantial support within Nicaragua despite widespread dissatisfaction with Sandinista rule.

Contra fighters inside Nicaragua can help their prospects in Congress by intensifying their war, but other factors in the debate are beyond their control.

Chief among them is the course of the nationally televised congressional hearings which began last week and which are expected to expose seamy aspects of the contra program. The final Congressional report following the hearings may be issued just as a vote on contra aid is scheduled, a prospect that might not please the Administration.

Although all parties to the conflict insist that they truly want a political settlement, neither Managua or Washington is pleased with the formula proposed by President Oscar Arias Sanchez of Costa Rica.

The Reagan Administration cannot support the Arias plan because it would require an end to funding of the contras; the Sandinistas reject provisions of the plan that would force them to end press censorship and restrictions on political activity.

The five Central American presidents are scheduled to meet to discuss the plan in Guatemala at the end of June, but few Sandinistas or contras believe peace is in the wind. For the immediate future at least, war remains the only certainty in Nicaragua.

After Whites Vote, Black Union Building Is Bombed



A Conservative Party candidate for Parliament, C. D. de Jager, being cheered by supporters, including members of the extremist Herstigte Nasionale Party, after he defeated a member of the ruling National Party for a seat from Bethal, South Africa.

Botha Landslide Worries Foes

By JOHN D. BATTERSBY

IN the aftermath of South Africa's whites-only elections last week the anti-apartheid movement was looking, with some anxiety, for indications of how its struggle might continue, and what the Government's reactions might be.

In the elections, South Africa moved further to the right as President P.W. Botha's National Party widened its parliamentary majority, and the Conservative Party's gains made it the official opposition party, replacing the left-of-center Progressive Federal Party.

Some anti-apartheid leaders felt the first post-election sign of the Government's attitude toward the movement came as white votes were being counted early Thursday morning: two explosions devastated the headquarters of the 600,000-member Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in downtown Johannesburg. The building had become the focal point of black protest in the days before the elections. The building has been declared unsafe by the Johannesburg Fire Department and is likely to be condemned.

Cosatu officials believe the blasts were part of an orchestrated attack by the authorities over the last few weeks. A Cosatu statement linked the explosions with police raids on Cosatu offices around the country, the police shooting of six striking transport workers last month, the total banning of Cosatu rallies and meetings and the arrest of hundreds of trade unionists in recent weeks.

"This is part of a co-ordinated campaign to break the power of the labor movement," a Cosatu statement said.

The police have rebutted suggestions that

they were responsible for the explosions. They countered by announcing that they had affidavits stating that people had been murdered in Cosatu House and were investigating whether the devices that caused the explosions, according to police the most powerful devices ever used in the Johannesburg area, were of Soviet origin.

The anti-apartheid campaigner, the Rev. Allan Boesak had no doubt as to who was responsible for the explosions: "What the Government does not realize is that this type of smear tactic against Cosatu is going to cause a backlash of anger much worse than anything they have seen yet."

There was some hope among anti-apartheid activists that the struggle might continue in the courts, and that the courts might become the key weapon in the movement's shrinking arsenal. The movement drew some encouragement from the Natal Supreme Court on Friday. The court overturned a state ban on foreign funding for the United Democratic Front, the country's biggest anti-apartheid grouping, which is heavily dependent on contributions from abroad.

The ban had been announced by President Botha less than 24 hours after he had interpreted the election result as a mandate for tougher security measures and warned that he would not tolerate extra-parliamentary action or foreign funds earmarked for extra-parliamentary groups.

The Natal bench of the Supreme Court, known as the "rebel bench," because of its record for anti-Government rulings, has overturned a number of the Government's draconian emergency restrictions on the press and civil rights.

Dr. Boesak does not think the court's anti-Government rulings will be enough. "It is good to have these things on record but we cannot go on fighting in the courts indefi-

nately," he said. "For every ruling in our favor, the South African Government has a new law. Court action does not draw in the masses of the people. It is something happening in a remote courtroom out of the reach of the people. If you want the people to be involved you must have mass action."

Dr. Boesak said that the rising tide of black anger following the election result would manifest itself in more mass actions such as protest strikes and rallies. But there would also be more practical action and creative community-oriented nonviolent programs as part of a broader passive resistance campaign, he said. "As far as blacks are concerned the white community has made a clear choice for apartheid and oppression."

Government-oriented analysts said Mr. Botha had won a mandate to move ahead with his reforms, which critics have dismissed as a facelift for apartheid. But independent analysts said that the emergence of the extreme right-wing Conservative Party as the official opposition in the white chamber of the segregated Parliament meant that Mr. Botha would have to be looking continually over his right shoulder.

Other analysts said that parliamentary opposition to apartheid was now likely to center around the strong performance by three independent candidates who stood on a platform of faster racial reforms.

But the veteran civil rights campaigner Helen Suzman, who retained her seat in Parliament with a reduced majority, rejected a call by Anglican Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu for the Progressives to quit Parliament in a gesture of protest.

The message from the white electorate was clear: we are only prepared to contemplate important changes to the status quo if this is backed up by the military might and the will to survive of the National Party.

Economic and Rights Abuses at Issue

U.S. Ties With Liberia Put Under New Strain

By JAMES BROOKE

"PARADE rest," barked the United States-trained officer to troops wearing United States Army issue uniforms and drilling in front of barracks built with United States military aid. Every West African nation has a patron, usually the former colonial power — Britain, France or Portugal. Liberia has the United States.

Modern Liberia was founded in 1822 by slaves freed in the United States with the aid of President James Monroe and money from the Congress to buy land from local chiefs for the settlers. In 1847, the country became Africa's first independent republic.

These historical ties — not widely known in the United States, but never forgotten here — gained new attention recently with reports that the United States, in an agreement with the Government, will send 17 "operational experts" here this summer with a mandate to clean up Liberia's scrambled finances. An estimated \$80 million to \$100 million a year is taken out of the country, much of it in suitcases. The United States this year earmarked \$40 million in economic aid for the country, which is \$430 million in arrears on a \$1.3 billion foreign debt.

The American program is an attempt to blunt a growing movement in the United States Congress to cut off aid to Liberia — currently the largest per capita recipient of American aid in sub-Saharan Africa. Because of allegations of human rights abuses and fiscal mismanagement, Congressional committees have prepared legislation to end the aid.

From the moment the Americans arrive, they will find a vaguely familiar air about this gently decaying seaside capital named after President Monroe. Many policemen still wear cast-off summer uniforms of the New York City Police Department. The Liberian Congress sits on "Capitol Hill." The

American dollar is accepted here as legal currency.

Soon after Liberia was declared an independent republic in 1847, a glaring gap appeared between the ideals of the former slaves and the reality of the country they created. The black settlers evolved into colonists who classified the indigenous African majority as "aborigines" and disenfranchised them, making the right to vote contingent on property ownership. In 1931, relations with native-born people living in what was officially called the Hinterland reached a low point when the League of Nations accused Liberia's President, Charles Burgess King, of participating in the slave trade.

In 1980, long-simmering resentment against the Americo-Liberian elite boiled over when Master Sgt. Samuel K. Doe, a member of a minority Hinterland tribe called the Krahn, seized power amid popular rejoicing. A few days later, 13 former government officials were tied to telephone poles on a beach here and executed by a drunken firing squad.

American Investments

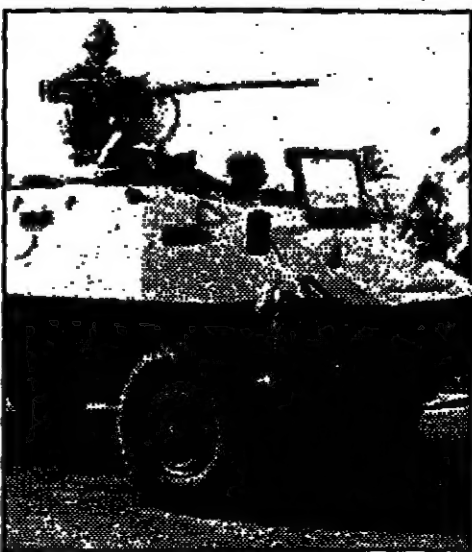
After a short period of indecision, Mr. Doe threw in his lot with the United States, which is Liberia's largest source of foreign aid — about \$40 million this year — largest trading partner, and largest foreign investor: about \$300 million. American churches maintain strong ties to their Liberian counterparts and contribute to schools and hospitals here.

The United States Government has in Liberia a concentration of interests unique to the region: a Voice of America radio transmitter, a navigational station for ships and airplanes, and communications equipment to relay diplomatic cables between Washington and the rest of Africa.

The current strains between Liberia and the United States can be traced to economics and politics. Corruption and financial mismanagement are traditional here. In 1985, shortly before an audit team from the International Monetary Fund was to arrive here, a mysterious fire in the finance ministry gutted the 11th floor, where all the records were kept. Strains also have developed over graphic reports of past human rights abuses. Today, Liberia has a cautiously critical press, several opposition parties and no known political prisoners.

But in the recent past, when the Doe Government has felt threatened, it has lashed out harshly and the army has been brutal. The army's violence shook local business confidence. Last year, for the first time since World War II, United States dollar notes disappeared from circulation. Their replacement is a seven-sided \$5 coin, nicknamed the Doe Dollar. Sensing a coolness in relations with the United States, Mr. Doe recently has played a nonaligned card. Last fall, he purchased from Rumania about \$4 million worth of armored cars, armored personnel carriers and anti-aircraft guns, ostensibly to protect against another coup attempt.

The Information Minister, J. Emmanuel Bowler, brushed off American threats to cut off aid, saying with a smile: "That's as old as the Hallelujah Chorus."



Liberian troops riding a Soviet-made armored car purchased from Rumania.

Gorbachev Policies Are Traced to 'The Leader'

Kremlin Reinterprets And Re-emphasizes The Legacy of Lenin

By BILL KELLER

GENNADI Gerasimov, the Soviet spokesman, appeared at his Tuesday press briefing last week with a smug look and the collected works of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. President Reagan, in a speech two days earlier to American newspaper publishers, had attributed to Lenin the menacing words that "the road to America leads through Mexico." If anyone in the room could find such a remark in Lenin, Mr. Gerasimov challenged, "I am ready to eat my hat."

They take their Lenin seriously here, and never more so than now.

On television, in the press, on the stage, and in the Government ideology mills, the Founding Father of the Russian Revolution is undergoing a major revival. Reverence for Lenin, in itself, is nothing new. His paternal visage watches from the walls of every kindergarten classroom, every bureaucrat's office. The tomb on Red Square where the embalmed remains of "The Leader" are displayed like a sacred relic is a major tourist attraction.

But the current binge of Lenin studies is more than a celebration of the last untarnished Soviet icon. It is a search by the Government of Mikhail S. Gorbachev for authoritative roots for a program of economic and social changes that conservative Communists fear strays from true socialism.

Like the Bible, the 55 volumes of Lenin's collected works lend themselves to different interpretations. Stalin cited Lenin, with some justification, as his authority for the brutal centralization of the economy and the establishment of a police state. Khrushchev revived the cult of Lenin to dispel the cult of Stalin, and to justify short-lived economic reforms in the 1960's. In 1970, under Leonid I. Brezhnev, official Lenin-worship reached its peak of mawkish excess, while the economy was slipping slowly into a coma.

Combing the Writ

Now Lenin's works are being pressed into service as an antidote to the cruelties of Stalin and the lethargy of Brezhnev, and to give Mr. Gorbachev's program of "restructuring" a back-to-the-roots-of-the-revolution quality.

"Restructuring has given rise to a new wave of the most vivid interest in all that is connected with The Leader's name," wrote a historian, Stanislav V. Tyutyukin, in *Izvestia*.

The Lenin who emerges in the profusion of new writing is an economic reformer, a political pragmatist, an advocate of peaceful co-existence among nations of different systems and an anti-Stalinist. Soviet historians have combed the Lenin writ to authenticate this portrait, which, not surpris-

ingly, bears a certain resemblance to Mr. Gorbachev.

"Glasnost," Mr. Gorbachev's catchword for greater openness in the arts and the press, has been traced to Lenin's writing. So has the new call for "democratization," the rubric for competitive elections of factory managers and local officials. A recent back-to-Lenin essay in the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya* conceded that it was true that the Bolshevik leader also talked of "overcoming democracy," but only in the context of a utopian future.

To support the Gorbachev economic program, which includes a measure of decentralization and encouragement of small private businesses, the ideologists have turned cautiously to the period of Lenin's "New Economic Policy," known as NEP, from 1921 to 1929.

During this period, Lenin, faced with an economic crisis and eager to make peace with restive peasants, halted the state's confiscation of farm produce and allowed farmers to market their own goods. Private businessmen were also permitted to hire labor and trade more or less freely.

When Lenin Swung

Prime Minister Nikolai I. Ryzhkov, the chief Gorbachev economic architect, in a report issued last month on Lenin's birthday, noted that the current ruler's program is "reminiscent in revolutionary scope, scale and boldness of Lenin's swing toward the new economic policy."

This is a delicate subject, since according to official Soviet history (and Lenin himself) NEP was a tactical retreat from socialism, a temporary expedient later repudiated by the Party.

Lenin is also invoked in a renewed campaign against Stalin's legacy. The weekly newspaper *Moscow News* recently resurrected Lenin's rarely cited deathbed letter to the Party, in which he proposed that his comrades "find a way to remove Stalin," whom he considered "too rude" to be party leader.

In foreign policy, too, Soviet leaders now talk of "a Leninist course," which is portrayed as eschewing expansionism in favor of coexistence and pragmatism.

Mikhail Shatrov's 1982 play "The Peace of Brest Litovsk," published for the first time last month and due for production in November, is a telling example. Set in the first months after the 1917 revolution, it describes the party's bitter debate over whether to sign a humiliating peace treaty with Germany. Lenin's argument — that the treaty was necessary to spare the young revolutionary Government from a crushing war — might have come from the same pen as Mr. Gorbachev's recent speeches, calling for détente with the West so the Soviet Union can devote itself to repairing its economy.

So far, the treatment of Lenin is reverential. The recurring television documen-



The New York Times/Bill Keller



Keynote

A poster of Lenin (top) in Red Square during May Day celebrations this month; Lenin speaking in 1919 in a square in Petrograd, the city that later was renamed Leningrad in his honor.

aries on his life are narrated in hushed tones, and the newly admitted shortcomings of Soviet history are laid exclusively in the laps of the leaders who followed Lenin.

Still, Mr. Shatrov, a politically well-connected playwright who has specialized in Lenin, has begun to show Soviet audiences a fuller portrait. His Lenin, in a recent television play and in his stage works, is seen wrestling with complicated issues and for-

midable intraparty dissent. Of course, he always wins, but the suggestion of a struggle is new.

In these pictures, and for the first time, too, an attempt has been made to strip from him this gloss of sweetness and honey which so often was created around Lenin in our pictures," said Mikhail A. Ulyanov, the actor who portrayed Lenin in the Shatrov television documentary, and whose surname happens to be the same as Lenin's

original family name.

Whatever Lenin would think about "restructuring," he would probably approve of a bit of demythologizing.

"What is this? How could you permit it?" Lenin once barked to an aide, upon reading adulatory articles in the press. "We long ago solved the question of heroes, and now we are again witnessing the glorification of personality. This is no good at all."

Nations Are Acting in Concert to Keep Out Aliens

Europe Seeks to Dam a Stream of Third World Refugees



Asian immigrants at London's Heathrow Airport in October trying to beat new visa regulations.

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

THE doors of Western Europe are slamming shut on the poor, the persecuted and the merely adventurous from Africa, Asia and the Arab world. More than a decade after calling a halt to importing cheap third world labor, to meet shortages and to do the dirty work of their industrial societies, the nations of Western Europe are starting to act in concert to stem the flow of asylum-seekers and "economic refugees."

West Germany, which last year absorbed 99,650 of 196,000 new refugees in Western Europe, has taken the lead. An agreement struck with East Germany to impose visa requirements for Sri Lankans arriving in East Berlin has stopped the flood of Tamil refugees into West Berlin; the measure has been extended to cover all nationalities.

The new Bonn legislation has meant heavy fines for airlines that transport passengers without visas into West Germany, where previously asylum-seekers

needed only to demand refuge in order to stay. And an agreement among state interior ministers modified a hallowed policy of accepting any refugee from Communist Europe. Now Hungarians and Poles — who have been known to show up as "refugees," work a bit, then go home — may be denied stays in the Federal Republic.

It is not fanciful to visualize the third world refugee influx as a stream pushing its way through open spaces between the rocks. Denmark and Sweden, for example, had reached understandings on restrictions with East Germany, accentuating the pressure on West Berlin. And when West Germany became less porous, the Netherlands noted a sharp jump in asylum-seekers from places like Bangladesh, Ghana and Turkey — 4,079 in February compared with a total of 5,885 in all of 1986.

So now the once-liberal Dutch have toughened their policies and are turning back refugees at airports. At West Germany's urging, European Community interior ministers have met and sketched measures that would avoid shunting refugees from one frontier to another.

The Europeans have not had happy experiences with amnesty measures like the one just being implemented in the United States. In 1975, the Dutch granted an amnesty for 15,000 illegal immigrants in the country, but the measure encouraged a surge in illegal immigration as newcomers expected it to be repeated.

Italy has just been obliged to extend until the end of June an amnesty for an estimated 800,000 illegal immigrants. The number surfacing to be registered has been disappointing: In Rome only 17,100 of 150,000 illegals have come forward. Italians employing illegal immigrants save on social security payments and are not eager to pick up these costs.

Yet a hard line is toughening across Europe. In a referendum last month, the Swiss voted to oblige all asylum-seekers to register at 24 border-crossing points before entering the country; refugees will be told in 12 hours whether they will be admitted or not. The measure is aimed at stopping the smuggling of asylum-seekers.

No Melting Pot

The Swiss feel crowded because 900,000 of the Alpine republic's 6.5 million residents are foreign — though only 30,000 are refugees. Anti-refugee feeling is also palpable in Belgium, where a new broad-brush law enables the expulsion of anyone who might constitute "a threat to public order or national security." In Norway, 600 refugees are being lodged in a ship docked at Oslo. Britain's gates are tightly shut.

The ancient nations of Europe have never really come to grips with becoming, wily-wily, multiracial societies. In contrast with the United States, there is no

unifying myth of the melting pot, which, however imperfect in practice, enables Americans to recognize a national identity that transcends race and religion. The official rhetoric in Europe — such as Chancellor Helmut Kohl's dogged insistence that West Germany, with about 60 million people, is not an immigrant nation — lags well behind reality. There are 4.3 million foreigners in West Germany and of them 1.4 million are Turks. Most of them plan to stay. Yet by clamping down on refugees and asylum-seekers, Mr. Kohl and other European leaders hope to prevent an explosive issue from poisoning the political climate.

In France, which has 4 million immigrants in a population of 55 million, the far-right, anti-immigrant National Front won 9.7 percent of the vote in last year's parliamentary elections. Its leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, warning that France's very existence is imperiled by a

flood of foreigners, has become the first candidate to announce for next year's presidential elections. Mr. Le Pen has no chance of winning, but he hopes to extract concessions from the leading rightist candidate in the second round of the presidential contest. On Wednesday, he called for "elegant" expulsions of unemployed immigrants, without elaborating. Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's conservatives last autumn put forward a highly restrictive nationality law aimed at making it difficult for foreigners to become French citizens. The bill touched off an outcry, and it was attacked by a constitutional review panel and by President François Mitterrand. The Chirac Government has shelved it for the moment, drawing accusations of "betrayal" from the National Front. But last week Mr. Chirac was reported to be planning to revive the contested law in order to siphon off support from Mr. Le Pen.

Ending Fear of a Knock on the Door
In U.S., Immigrants Line Up for Amnesty

AFTER eight years of looking nervously over her shoulder, Krystyna Swiatek walked into the immigration legalization center here Tuesday and sighed with relief. "I feel at home now," said Ms. Swiatek, a 36-year-old native of Warsaw. Ms. Swiatek visited Chicago as a tourist in 1979 and decided not to return to her home in Poland after martial law was imposed.

Thousands of illegal aliens, clutching gas bills, tax returns and apartment leases as proof of their residences, emerged last week to apply for amnesty at the 107 legalization centers around the country. In Chicago, the lines of applicants began forming as early as 3 A.M.

"I will never be afraid again," said Shadia Hydri, a bartender who came from Pakistan in 1977. "We are in a free country — with all the benefits."

The Immigration and Naturalization Service, which will be taking applications until May 4, 1988, is conferring legal status on aliens who have been living in the United States since January 1, 1982. While the agency says it is ready to process as many as 3.9 million applications, some experts say that number is far too high. When the centers opened Tuesday, although lines formed early, there was no overwhelming crush of applicants. Most of the day's business here was conducted well before noon. Many aliens were said to have stayed away because they do not trust the Government.

In addition, many aliens were being bilked by swindlers who provided documents proving residency. Isabel Isamet, a 74-year-old native of Santiago, Chile, said she lost \$300 this way.

Many applying for amnesty last

week said they could now search freely for better jobs. And many said they now could visit their homelands without worrying about whether they would be allowed to return.

"I want to go and see my grandma and grandpa," said Jacqueline Tiema, a 10-year-old native of Nairobi, Kenya, who came to Chicago as an infant with her mother, Lydia. As soon as the money can be saved, her mother promised on Tuesday, they will return to Africa for a visit.

Adolfo Diaz, a native of Durango, Mexico, who is now a heavy equipment operator in Chicago, stood stiffly in a new suit, answering questions with the help of his children as interpreters.

"He's happy for us," said Socorro Diaz, a 19-year-old college student. "This opens a lot of doors."

DIRK JOHNSON

The Nation

Inquiry Pursued On Meese's Links To Contractor

The Justice Department has started an internal investigation into the legality and propriety of connections between Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d and the Wedtech Corporation, and Congress is asking that it work quickly.

Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., chairman of the Judiciary Committee, asked the department Friday to set "a specific time" for completion of its "threshold inquiry" into Mr. Meese's intervention on Wedtech's behalf in 1982, as well as his 1985 investment of \$60,000 with a financial consultant who he knew worked for Wedtech. Mr. Meese has said these activities imply no wrongdoing.

The two-week-old inquiry is to determine whether the Attorney General's activities warrant a "preliminary investigation," which would then determine whether a special prosecutor should take the case. Under the Ethics in Government Act, the preliminary investigation is limited to 90 days, but there is no time limit on a "threshold inquiry."

Senator Biden, a Delaware Democrat, and Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr., the New Jersey Democrat who is chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, have already asked the special prosecutor in the Wedtech case whether he would need an expanded mandate to include Mr. Meese's activities in his inquiry. The prosecutor, James C. McKay, replied last week that he would. Mr. McKay was appointed to investigate charges of illegal lobbying by Lyn Nofziger, a former top White House adviser, on Wedtech's behalf.

After Mr. Meese's deputy, James E. Jenkins, helped Wedtech negotiate a contract with the Army in 1982, the struggling South Bronx tool and die maker rapidly developed into a \$100-million-a-year company with more, and no-bid, contracts. But a cluster of Federal and state investigations forced it into bankruptcy last December. In February, four of the company's former officials pleaded guilty to corruption charges and agreed to testify against more than a dozen Government officials, who, they said, had received payoffs.

Conrail Engineer Indicted in Wreck

A Federal grand jury last week indicted a Conrail engineer on 18 counts of manslaughter, saying he showed "wanton or reckless disregard for human life" in driving through a stop signal and into the path of a speeding Amtrak train. In addition to the 18 passengers who died in the crash, 175 were injured.

The engineer, Ricky L. Gates, will plead not guilty, according to his attorney, Thomas J. Saunders, who said he had "many leads" indicating that he had "an accident near Baltimore was not Mr. Gates's fault. Mr. Gates was jailed in lieu of a \$50,000 bond; if convicted, he faces a maximum penalty of 60 years in prison and a \$16,000 fine.

It will be four or five more months before the National Transportation Safety Board issues its report on the causes of the train wreck. In the meantime, Amtrak has lowered speed limits on its Northeast Corridor tracks and is testing different ways of keeping luggage from hurtling free in a crash. Conrail has stepped up drug tests of its employees and increased safety checks.

The Federal Railroad Administration, which regulates railroads, is working on a proposal to require automatic braking controls on freights in the Corridor. The devices, already installed by Amtrak, stop a train if the engineer disregards a slow-down



Ricky L. Gates

Gamma-Liaison/Marty Katz

signal, as investigators say Mr. Gates did. The agency has also asked Congress to increase penalties for tampering with safety devices, now a maximum of \$2,500, to as much as \$10,000.

Nixon Files Yield A Wealth of Detail

There were memorandums on how to "paint ... black" such opponents as Edward M. Kennedy, George McGovern and Daniel Ellsberg. There was a proposal from Richard M. Nixon to try to uncover "some of the real crooks on the highest court and in some of the other Federal courts." There were ideas — from William H. Rehnquist, now Chief Justice, for example — on how to crack down on campus radicals.

But the expurgated documents from the Nixon White House's "Special Files" that were made public last week added nothing startling, researchers said, to the record of the three years leading up to Mr. Nixon's resignation in 1974. The "Special Files" were the repository of his Administration's most sensitive notes and memorandums on such matters as the Watergate coverup, efforts to discredit political rivals and the secret study of the Vietnam War, known as the Pentagon Papers, that was divulged by Mr. Ellsberg.

Mr. Nixon's attorneys filed more than 3,000 separate objections saying specific documents were too personal or too invasive of his privacy to be released. The 15,000 pages they challenged were withheld for review, which probably will take months, an archives spokeswoman said.

In an apparent coincidence, Mr. Nixon returned to the White House last week, at President Reagan's request, to discuss the arms control negotiations. The White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, said the two Presidents did not discuss Mr. Reagan's troubles with revelations about the Iran-Contra affair, as they did by telephone in November as the crisis was breaking.

Rebuttals Filed In Deaver Case

The rhetoric heated up last week in the case against Michael K. Deaver, the former deputy White House chief of staff who is accused of lying to Congress and a Federal grand jury about his lobbying activities.

Mr. Deaver's lawyers accused the independent counsel, Whitney North Seymour Jr., of setting a "perjury trap" to deceive Mr. Deaver into making false statements about his contacts with Transportation Secretary Elizabeth Dole on behalf of Trans World Airlines. But the special prosecutor replied, "Mr. Deaver's denial under oath of any contact with Secretary Dole effectively foreclosed further inquiry of him. ... It was only much later that we learned the real truth — that Deaver's answer was a willful lie. ... Mr. Deaver then refused to make a second appearance before the grand jury, Mr. Seymour said.

Responding to defense motions to have the indictment overturned, Mr. Seymour strongly denied that one of the five perjury charges against Mr. Deaver was added out of "prosecutorial vindictiveness," as Mr. Deaver had claimed. Mr. Seymour suggested that the Federal grand jury in the case might gather evidence involving new charges. Mr. Deaver's trial is scheduled to start June 8.

Less Joblessness, Higher Hopes

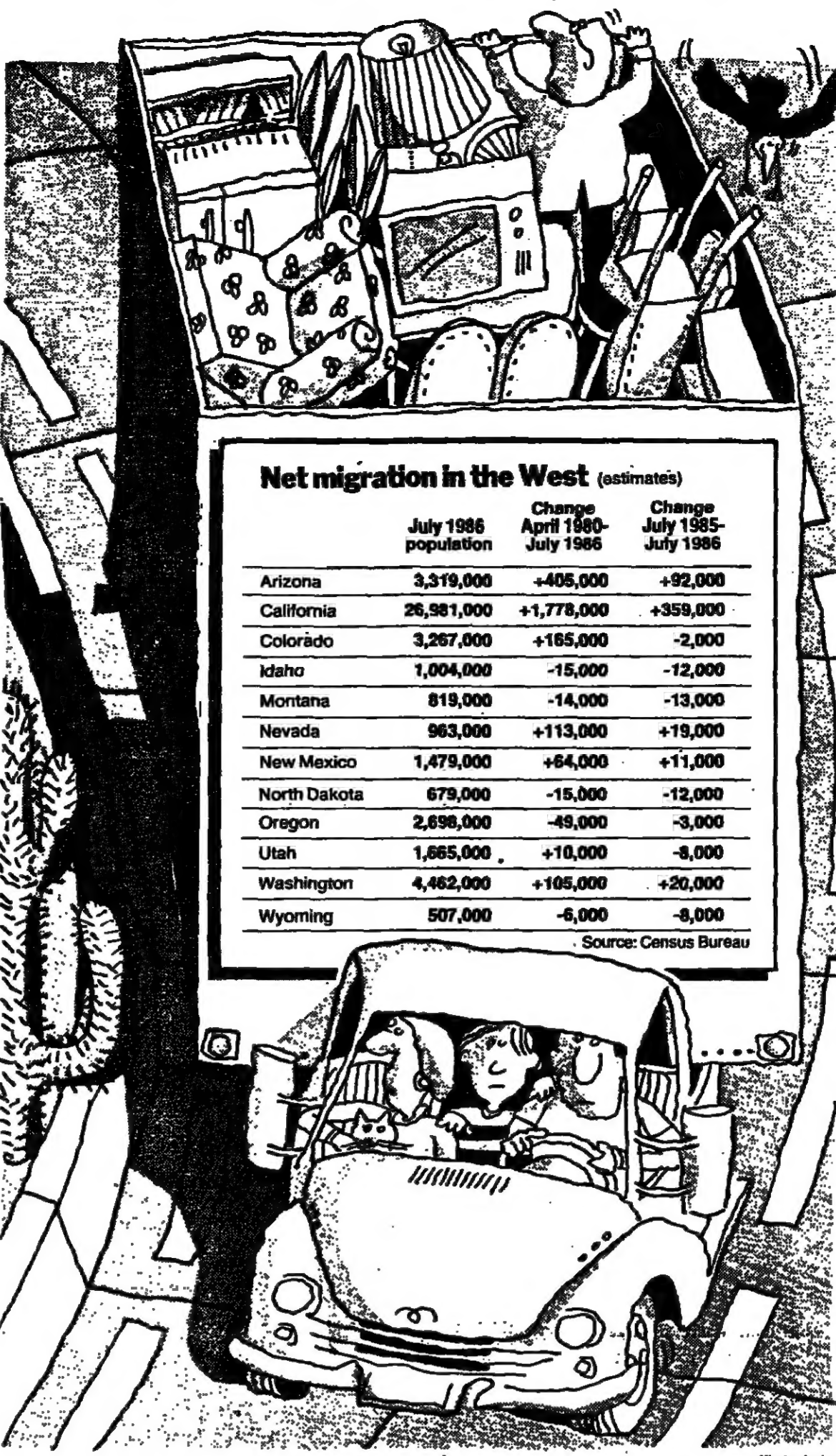
Analysts in and out of Government tore back to their calculators at last week's report of a drop of three-tenths of a percentage point in unemployment in April, to 6.2 percent, the lowest level in seven years.

Not only were new jobs created at an unexpectedly rapid pace. Joblessness declined in virtually every population group. It all suggested that business was confident enough of a further upturn to make hefty additions to its workforce. And that suggested far sturdier growth than most analysts had predicted. While some forecasts had projected growth in the second quarter to be as weak as 1.5 percent, growth closer to 3 percent now seemed closer to the mark, Allen Sinai, chief economist at Shearson Lehman Brothers, said.

The White House was jubilant at the lowest unemployment rate of the Reagan Presidency. The currency and bond markets were pleased as well, with the dollar steadying and interest rates edging down. But Wall Street had its customary reverse reaction. Its short-term concern was that in a stronger economy, the Federal Reserve would see more leeway to prop up the dollar with tighter interest rates; its longer-term concern, that the risk of inflation is greater during periods of growth. The Dow Jones industrial average slowed its climb a bit, closing the week at 2,322.20.

Martha A. Miles and Caroline Rand Herron

Many Rural Areas Are Losing Jobs and Population



Economic Boom Out West Is Mostly Inside City Limits

By ROBERT LINDSEY

MORE people moved out of Utah last year than moved into it. The same was true in Colorado, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, Oregon and Wyoming. The reason: Not enough jobs.

In the last three years or so, as the Northeast and parts of the Middle West have experienced an economic resurgence, much of the West has been slipping farther and farther into a slump. It

has come as a hard shock for Western leaders, accustomed to boasting about the region's economic strength. For much of the time since World War II, the West led the nation in population increase, growth in per capita income and many other yardsticks of economic gain.

Rapid population growth and solid economic expansion continue in pockets, especially in California and Arizona. But as a region, the West, at least for now, has lost much of the economic glitter that has lured immigrants from around the world since the Gold Rush, almost 140 years ago.

To a large extent, two distinct economies have

emerged in the West — one in the cities, another outside them. Los Angeles, for example, is booming. It has become the nation's principal banking and trading center with Asia; the Reagan Administration's arms buildup has pumped in huge amounts of money, the manufacturing base ranges from apparel to electronics, and employment in service occupations is surging. Other Western cities, such as Portland, Seattle and Salt Lake City, also have a patina of economic vitality.

But areas that depended on agriculture and natural resources are a different world, one of unemployed miners, sawmill workers waiting in vain to be rehired, cowboys and oil rig roustabouts looking for work.

In its simplest terms, some economists say, the downturn can be explained as the predictable effect of a cyclical decline in prices. After the Arab oil embargo of 1974 touched off a period of rapid inflation, they say, the West enjoyed a boom because its producers of food and harvesters of natural resources were paid for their output at inflated prices. New jobs were created and prosperity spread.

Now, many of the forces fueling the economic resurgence of the Northeast — notably, reduced inflation and cheaper commodities — are having the reverse effect on the West. In time, say some economists, the supply-demand cycle will shift, prices will rise, and states endowed with oil, copper or timber will enjoy a boom once again.

Heightened Competition

Many Westerners worry, however, that changes in the world's economy may make many of the region's problems structural and long-term. "Global competition," said Gov. Booth Gardner of Washington, "is splitting the West into two economies: one a declining resource-based economy that faces falling prices for agriculture, energy, timber and minerals, and the other a growing but increasingly vulnerable technology-based and services economy threatened by fierce and swiftly moving foreign competition."

In an otherwise upbeat report on the California economy, two New York University professors, Robert Berne and Matthew Drennan, noted last week that the state "remains dependent upon defense spending and computers for much of its capital goods production and thus is especially sensitive to cutbacks and slowdowns in these areas." The high-tech electronics industry, which from a beachhead in California established branches in Oregon, Washington, Utah, New Mexico and other states, was once considered a gilt-edged immunity for the West. But, just as wheat farmers and copper miners did, electronics tycoons found recently that their products no longer dominate world markets.

Farmers and mineral companies began to lose customers to overseas competitors in 1981, when the value of the dollar began soaring. A weaker dollar has narrowed the gap, but David Zollinger, executive vice president of the California Tomato Growers Association, notes: "Once you've lost a market, it's hard to get it back."

"In the past, there was no competition for California agriculture; we grew things nobody else did," said Richard C. Carlson, a Palo Alto economist. "Now we're getting competition from South America, Mexico and some Asian countries."

Even when lost sales are regained, jobs may be lost permanently because of the heightened competitiveness of the new world marketplace. The Pacific Northwest's wood products industry, for example, whose sales plummeted in the early 1980's, has recently been operating at record capacity, partly because of increased exports. But during the hard times the industry took steps to improve productivity: It is employing 20,000 fewer workers than it had before the slump.

Congress Looks for a Better Way Around the Debt Ceiling

Rewriting the Annual Budget Drama

By JONATHAN FUERBRINGER

THE clarion call has come once again from the Treasury Department: Congress must approve an increase in the public debt ceiling so the Government can continue to borrow to pay its bills. By Friday, if the increase is not approved, the Treasury will be in trouble. By May 28, the Treasury says, the Government will be in default.

So begins what has become an annual game of chicken. House and Senate leaders struggle to push through a debt-ceiling increase while members stand firm in their refusal to approve higher debt or bargain to tack on all kinds of amendments. The Treasury warns in ever more stentorian tones that the Government teeters on the brink of bankruptcy — which, by the way, has been averted every time.

But this year, as in 1985, when the budget-balancing law was passed, the debt-ceiling scenario may set the stage for a substantive drama — a restructuring of the budget process itself to make it more reliable.

Indeed, this may be the only way to undo a deepening stalemate on the 1988 budget between the Democratic-controlled Congress and the President. Last week the Senate approved a \$1 trillion plan that includes \$18.3 billion in tax increases, which the President adamantly opposes; restrains growth in the military budget, for which Mr. Reagan wants more money, and allows slight growth in selected domestic programs, from health to education. The plan the House passed in April was similar, so conferees

work on a compromise, which starts next week, is expected to be easy.

But the President says it is not a budget he can accept, even though the Senate offers a \$7-billion bonus in the military budget in exchange for the taxes. "Here we go again," said Mr. Reagan Friday. "The time has come, long since, to restore our credibility and discipline to the budget process. The Senate budget is a giant step in the wrong direction."

Yesterday, he repeated his threat to veto bills he thinks damaging to the national defense. A similar logjam last year resulted in gimmicks and one-shot savings that produced only short-term deficit reduction.

Looking Beyond 1988

This year momentum is quietly building, among Democrats and Republicans, to try to break the deadlock by enacting changes in the whole budget process — which also happens to be the target on which President Reagan is concentrating his fiscal rhetoric.

House Speaker Jim Wright, Democrat of Texas, has formed a special task force headed by his majority leader, Representative Thomas S. Foley of Washington. Senator Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico, the ranking Republican on the Senate Budget Committee, has been pressing all year for a budget combining tax increases with revisions in the process so that what is promised in the budget resolution is actually carried out in appropriations and other legislation.

This could make compromise more palatable to both President and Congress, because they could be more confident that any bargains struck would be kept. For example, both Democrats and

Republicans are considering a two-year budget process, including a two-year military appropriation, which would give the President some assurance of retaining the increase for 1989 that is promised in the 1988 budget plans. Another change being considered would lock in more domestic spending cuts over several years, making it harder to renege on them.

"If we are going to get the President to join us, we will have to have some kind of two-year process," said Mr. Domenici. "We are going to have to consider some reforms that will make the budget reliable and make the expectations you commit to achievable."

The biggest change would be to restore the "hammer" in the budget-balancing law that mandates automatic spending cuts, half of them in the military, if Congress and the White House do not agree on a budget that reduces the deficit to the ceiling the law sets. The original mechanism was overturned by the Supreme Court, and both House and Senate budgets miss the 1988 ceiling of \$106 billion by more than \$25 billion.

The debt ceiling bill will be the launching pad for the test of this alternative. Senator Phil Gramm, Republican of Texas and a co-sponsor of the budget-balancing law, is poised to offer an amendment that would restore the automatic spending-cut mechanism. The House leadership is working on its own version of a new mechanism but would prefer not to use the debt ceiling as a vehicle for it.

The House, the Senate and the White House agree that the budget process should be changed; it remains to be seen whether that consensus can pave the way to compromise on the budget itself.

مركز الأمل

Into the Villa dei Papiri: Seeking Ancient Scrolls

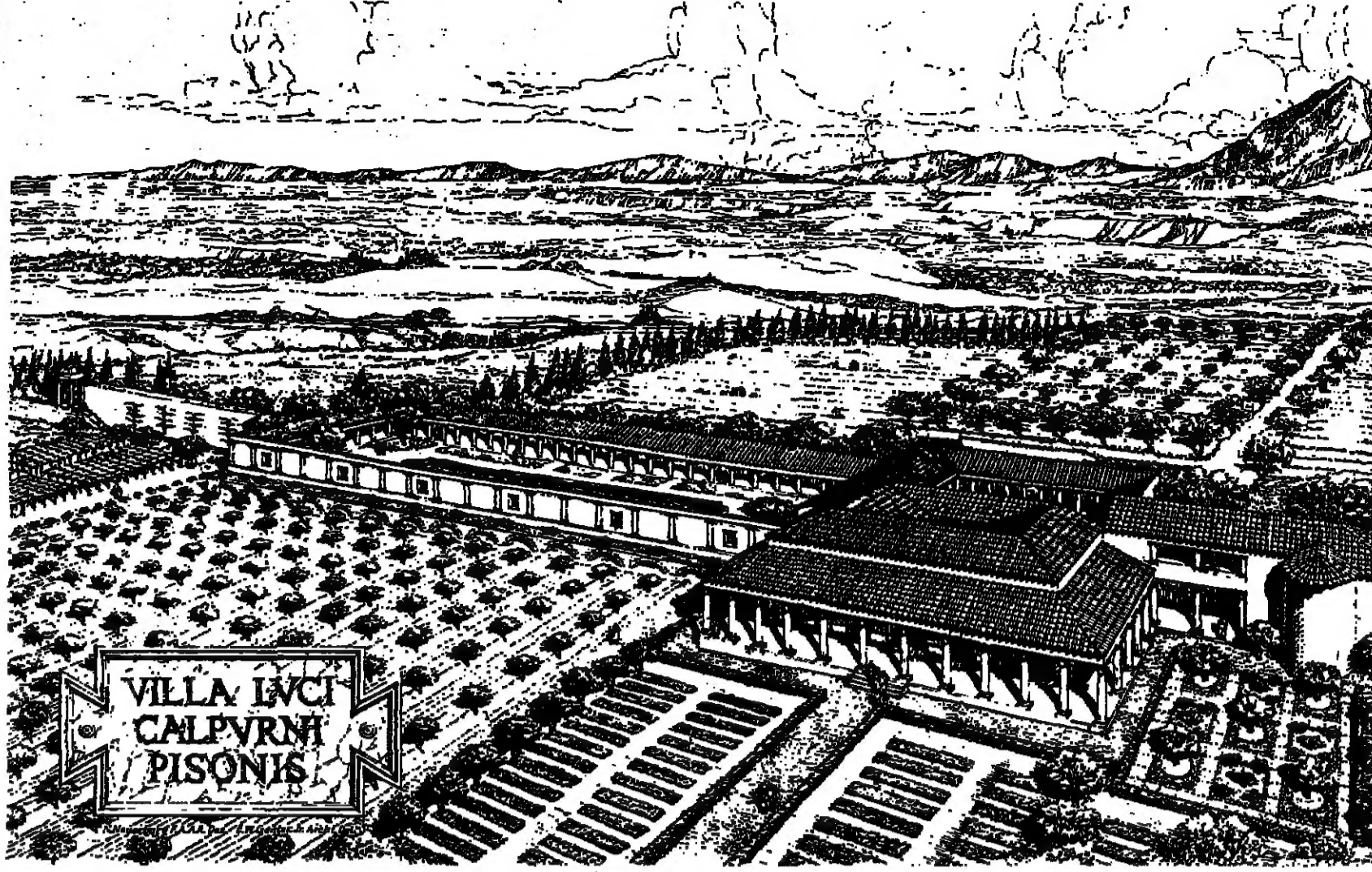
By SHIRLEY HAZZARD

In 1979 the world remembered — with exhibitions, congresses, publications — the Great Eruption of Mount Vesuvius that, in 79 A.D., buried the Roman towns of Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabiae, on the Gulf of Naples, under volcanic ash, mud and lava. Next year will mark the 250th anniversary of the inauguration, at Herculaneum, of systematic excavation of those Vesuvian cities — a development of immense consequence not only for our knowledge of the ancient world but for the influence exerted over archeology, art and science, and over civilized consciousness, by the Vesuvian revelations. Scholars urging that 1988 be commemorated at Herculaneum with specific new excavations may take heart from the fact that the most dramatic of these is already under way — at the Villa dei Papiri, an unseen and almost legendary structure whose influence has been felt around the world.

To have entered the Villa dei Papiri on a recent spring morning is to invoke Horace Walpole, who, describing in 1740 the first revelations at Herculaneum, wrote home to England: "We have seen something today that I am sure you never read of, and perhaps never heard of... there might certainly be collected great light from this reservoir of antiquities if a man of learning had the inspection of it."

In 1750, excavators working, under royal aegis, at the western periphery of Herculaneum entered a large buried villa, later conjectured to have been the seaside establishment of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, father-in-law of Julius Caesar. During the following decade there was extracted from this underground site, through shafts and tunnels, a magnificent treasure of antique sculptures in marble and bronze, familiar now to all the world from countless reproductions and from their exhibition at the National Archaeological Museum at nearby Naples. The house itself, lying under a difficult mass of lava and consolidated mud, and covering an area of approximately 812 by 455 feet, was never exposed; nor was its interior fully explored. A remarkably detailed floor plan was, however, drawn up by Carl Weber, a Swiss engineer then helping to direct the Herculaneum excavations. Using his network of tunnels, Weber determined the disposition of principal rooms around a grand peristyle, or colonnaded courtyard, ornamented with gardens and with a 216-foot pool — this main structure branching into contiguous courts and chambers that led, in turn, to a portico overlooking the sea: the whole announcing the villa of a person of powerful position, high culture, and enormous wealth.

The Latin word "villa" was not synonymous with "domus," a house. For the Romans, a villa was — as to some extent in Italy today — a landed property usually incorporating a dwelling.



Norman Neuerburg's rendering, based on earlier excavations, of the villa of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, now known as the Villa dei Papiri.

rus — procured from Egypt. Gibbon, writing in the 18th century, comments that, for the Classical world, "the labour and the materials of writing could be purchased only by the rich; and it may reasonably be computed that the price of books was an hundred-fold their present value." The difficulty of consulting written works, and even of making notes, led to intricate systems of memorization and prodigious feats of literature recall; to what Frances Yates has called, in her fascinating book of that title, "The Art of Memory." And we need not doubt, remembering the Virgilian graffiti on Pompeii's walls, that the great poets were familiarly cited by a Roman citizenry who seldom saw their written lines.

For these very reasons it was probable that, where a large literary repository did exist, it would contain examples of as many significant written works as possible; and that, of all the riches housed at Herculaneum — as it has come to be called — the Villa dei Papiri, the library was the greatest treasure. In the years immediately following the Great Eruption, an attempt was apparently made, perhaps by the villa's owners, to re-enter the house at a point near the library. Evidence of this early dig is indicated on Weber's floor plan with the words "vacante antiquo" —

well, beneath a 19th-century house in the "modern" town of Herculaneum. By relating this verifiable shaft to obscure early studies of the site, Knight's discovery of the "Pozzo dei Ciceri" — so named by Weber after its 18th-century landowners — made it possible to establish the villa's position. In 1983, the International Congress of Papyrology, meeting at Naples, formally urged the Italian Government to finance and facilitate resumption of the excavation.

The debate, ever more pressing and more public, and led by the dedicated Marcello Gigante, at last brought forth, in the spring of 1986, the outline of a firm project and an initial public grant of about \$1 million. In 1987, in early February, the archeological "soprintendente," or chief administrator of Vesuvian antiquities, Baldassarre Conticello, officially reopened and himself entered the site at its central shaft — the Pozzo Veneroso, another evocative name derived from an 18th-century Herculaneum landlord. The event eclipsed world news in the Italian press.

This enterprise literally reopened possibilities of large importance for civilized history. Whatever the ponderables, the gesture was in itself inspiring — absorbing, as Gigante remarked, the civilized community from the disgrace of leaving interred in earth a potential source of enlightenment and human self-knowledge. In an age of archeological wonders, the excavation could prove to be, in the words of an American museum director, "the dig of the century."

The surface equipment of the Pozzo Veneroso occupies few square yards in the garden area of a quarter-mile west of the excavated town of ancient Herculaneum. The short, neat pit-head rises among countless carnations that flourish here, under plastic shelters, for the Neapolitan florists' trade. In the earliest morning of a fine spring day, the heat beneath the light plastic "roofing" is already noticable. The surrounding tide of green flowerbeds is tipped with budding colors; and there is, as ever at Vesuvian excavations, a sense of nearness to the unseen sea — which, through volcanic changes of coastline, no longer washes the walls of ancient Herculaneum as it did in Classical times when the Villa dei Papiri lay closely parallel to a fabled shore.

Renewal of Herculaneum's traditional access by sea, a present aim of Vesuvian scholars, would circumvent, with a short ferry ride from Naples, the present laborious approach by road through the traffic of an outlying Neapolitan industrial zone where authority has explosively grouped, at the foot of the volcano, a field of gas tanks and other combustibles. The journey by water would embody, too, some tribute to the historic voyage of the elderly Pliny, the man of genius who, bravely sailing to the rescue of Vesuvian householders trapped by the Great Eruption, was himself engulfed in his fate.

Beside the open shaft of the Pozzo Veneroso, a large reproduction of Carl Weber's map shows our position. Antonio De Simone, lent from the University of Naples to direct the excavation, explains that these first weeks of work have largely retraced a central segment of the 18th-century dig — removing, however, quantities of the earth with which the earlier excavation had been filled. De Simone shows small objects — a bronze hinge, a charred lintel — turned up in the process. No artistic discoveries are expected at this stage, in an area thoroughly sifted in the 1750's; but the excavators have already sounded, at a lower level, at least two chambers uncharted by their predecessors.

A complete exposure of the villa, now under study, would be extremely difficult. In the eruption of 79 A.D., the Villa dei Papiri, with the rest of Herculaneum, was buried deep under a huge mud slide (or, according to new theories of volcanology, a "pyroclastic flow") ejected from the crater of Vesuvius — in contrast to nearby Pompeii, which received a shallower covering of ash and stones. With the passage of centuries, this fertile volcanic deposit became arable land, scattered with small communities. In 1831, however, after prolonged inactivity, the volcano again broke out in a terrifying eruption that took thousands of lives and buried Herculaneum still deeper under a flow of lava. Modern excavators must therefore contend with a solidified, rock-like upper layer resting on a friable

mass of dried mud. Displacement of the upper weight might cause a collapse and crush the structure of the underlying villa.

The geological and engineering aspects of the present dig are the responsibility of Infrasad, a technical enterprise with government support active in important excavations throughout Italy.

We are given hard white hats, white cotton gloves. Clambering one by one into the pit-head, we are six: Marcello Gigante and his erudite and charming wife; De Simone; Umberto Cioffi, from Infrasad; and the two foreigners, who owe their privilege to Gigante. (Outsiders are, with few exceptions, excluded from the dig — necessarily, since any untoward incident might delay or even close down the work.) The narrow shaft, dug and

reinforced in the 1750's by Carl Weber's men, is now expertly supplied with light and air. We descend on a series of recently installed metal ladders, each of which terminates on a brief wooden platform. The apertures for the rungs ladders barely admit a man's frame. Alongside, however, the unobstructed parallel segment of the shaft allows for operation, on pulleys, of a bucket for earth-removal.

At the foot of the descent, a hollowed space opens into divergent tunnels, most of them as yet extending few yards only, some of them accessible only on all fours. Immediately visible is a deposit of charred grain, part of the villa's stores for fodder or for making bread. Beyond us extends a broad Roman floor of small mosaic in black and white, undulant from its volcanic experience and intersected by a marble threshold. Within the main tunnel stands — as marked in Weber's map — the plinth of a broken column whose shaft, snapped off in the eruption, lies some yards away.

We have entered the living quarters of the villa, close to the library. Around and below us are the sealed Roman rooms: overhead, the bank of mud swept here on August 24, 79 A.D. There is silence, except for the hiss of induced air, as we creep through tunneled earth to the furthestmost point so far reached in the present excavation. Gigante, whose determination to reopen the Villa dei Papiri goes back more than 30 years, seats himself in this burrow and observes with a smile: "My paradise."

I ask what authors Gigante would most like to find here. And he answers: "Works in Latin would have been abundant in this library. The papyri so far retrieved are in Greek. Now I would like to see Roman authors — Ennius, Lucretius, Cicero. The lost works, of course; but also the contemporary texts of writings we know only from copies made in later centuries. One might hope, for instance, for a contemporary text of Horace. Above all, of Virgil who, having the luck to be celebrated in his lifetime, saw his works much reproduced — and whose residence at Naples gave him local as well as universal fame. Then there are the unknown works, the revelations."

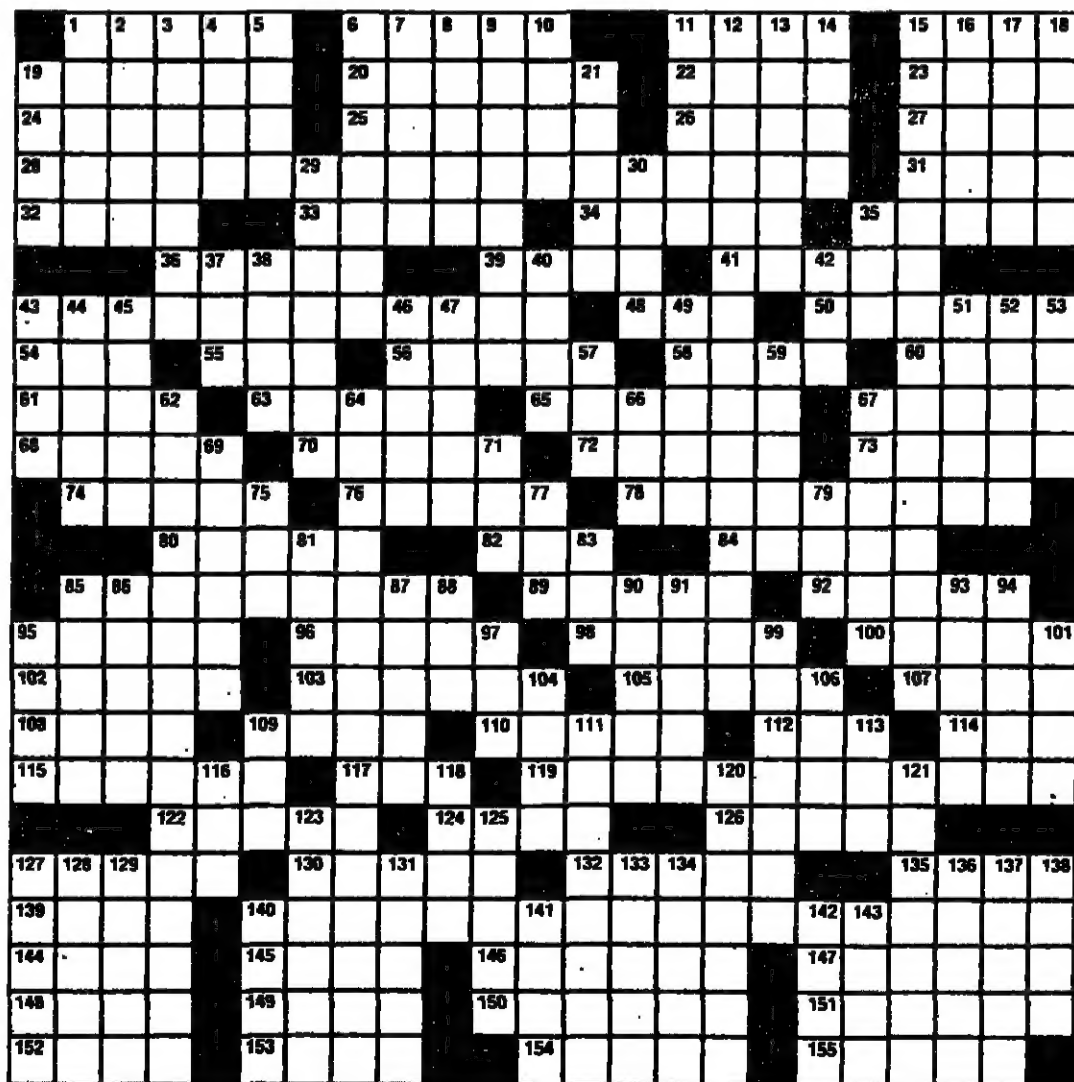
None of these experts will estimate the duration of the present excavation, or the imminence of new discoveries. Developments may come suddenly, or because of unforeseen obstructions, be delayed for weeks or months.

Whozoo

BY STANLEY GLASS/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska

ACROSS

- 1 Natterjacks
- 6 "The Lament of —" Byron
- 11 Put away
- 15 Type of board
- 19 Latin quarter
- 20 Glorify
- 22 Rent
- 23 Jug
- 24 Overjoys
- 25 Brick structures
- 26 "Rock of —"
- 27 Part of a casa Theodore
- 31 — the Red
- 32 To be, to Tiberius
- 33 Change the reading of
- 34 Tinker's pivot man
- 35 Total
- 36 Way up
- 39 Pro's foe
- 41 Horn: Comb. form
- 43 Rich
- 48 Diamond —
- 50 Actually
- 54 Speed meas.
- 55 Swedish river
- 56 Halloween choice
- 58 Furnish
- 60 Czech river
- 61 Melville protagonist
- 63 Type of race
- 65 "La —" (song about a dove)
- 67 Wheel supports
- 68 Without
- 70 Greek or Caesar
- 72 Kind of closet
- 73 Sound like rusted hinges
- 74 Loot
- 76 Jeans material
- 78 Saharan hazard
- 80 Questionable
- 82 Young seal
- 84 Moscomi maneuver
- 85 Type of desk tray
- 89 Canadian peninsula
- 92 Protection
- 95 Fur piece
- 96 — Janeiro
- 98 Indonesian island
- 100 Ecological sequences
- 102 Acclaim
- 103 For an interim
- 105 Old
- 107 Calif. city
- 108 Damascus, e.g.
- 109 Mortar carriers
- 110 "Le Baiser" sculptor



DOWN

- 12 Sound in a bowl
- 14 One of the Bobbsey twins
- 115 Actress Mercouri
- 117 Gastineau is one
- 119 Huey
- 122 Cow catcher for rose
- 124 Gem of the Mountains
- 127 "Jarnegan" author: 1925
- 130 Kipling's "Soldiers"
- 132 Aquatic bird
- 135 Flutie, e.g.
- 139 Of the ear
- 140 Charles
- 144 Barcelona boy
- 145 — dixit
- 146 Part of "ROY G. BIV"
- 147 Queen of detectives
- 148 Sewed up
- 149 Contemporary of Durand
- 150 Early Jewish sect
- 151 Capote's "Other —"
- 152 Grant once given to Hollywood
- 153 Medieval serf
- 154 Heads, in Le Havre
- 155 Wane
- 21 Certain Caucasian
- 29 Troupialist
- 30 Ponerologist's topic
- 35 Faint
- 37 Bandleader Weems
- 38 Kanten
- 40 A tide
- 42 Free (of)
- 43 Pharmacist's measure
- 44 Fabled biblical land
- 45 Arabian Sea native
- 46 Hackneyed
- 47 Indo-European
- 49 Actress Massey
- 51 Freud associate
- 52 Top group
- 53 Type of force
- 57 Former chess champ
- 59 — Devi, Indian mountain
- 62 William
- 64 Claudia
- 66 Lily, in Lille
- 67 Histions
- 69 Deli's requisite
- 71 Plunge
- 75 Native of N. Canada
- 77 Phiz
- 79 Madrid Mrs.
- 81 Speechless comedian
- 83 Campaign lobbying org.
- 85 Squirrel away
- 86 Like a fugue
- 87 Lax
- 88 Summertime in N.Y.
- 90 Small finch
- 91 Antler part
- 93 Me. college town
- 94 V-shaped fortress
- 95 Fake
- 97 Shelley's always

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

MAHOUT BLOCH BOLTEN
AVERNO EVERETT APART
BERNARDINOQUE COVERT
SCREW TOWA DILNAT
ABSTINENT DILNAT
PIEDMONT INVEY STORIES
JACQUES CANAI AIA INAI
PALLI NELSONEDDY LATE
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SHAMROCK LALIC AREA
HOTAIR ANONYMOUSROSC
TERRAS TENERAS TESSY
PJOJLEO SEINIS BLEEDS

Arts & Leisure

From its agricultural origins in the "villae rusticae," or rural estates, the word acquired, with the onset of imperial luxury and security, the meaning also of a country seat, and a connotation of pleasure. In the first century after Christ, luxurious seaside villas of wealthy Romans proliferated on the coast near Naples — extending, in the area of Vesuvius, not only along the shore but, with confident serenity, high on to the verdant slopes of a volcano that had not erupted for at least seven centuries.

At the Herculaneum villa, the 18th-century excavators of ancient sculpture made a unique and momentous find. In 1752 they came upon a large number of papyri — the papyrus scrolls of an important library, so carbonized by heat or mineral action that they were at first discarded as mere fragments of charcoal. Almost 2,000 such items were removed before volcanic gases compelled the sealing of the villa's excavation, in 1763. The complex and unprecedented task of unrolling and deciphering the retrieved papyri ultimately yielded texts almost exclusively in Greek and mainly dealing with Epicurean concepts — circumstances suggesting that a single segment only of a large library had been breached. These retrieved scrolls are now in the National Library at Naples.

Scholars affirm that such a library would have included many of the important literary texts in Greek and Latin available to the Classical world at that period — much as an extensive library of our own time would carry works of the principal poets and thinkers of Western civilization. To the ancient world, however, a comprehensive library was a far rarer phenomenon than it is to us, consisting as it did of works individually and expensively compiled by hand, by professional scribes, predominantly on material — the "processed" papy-

term, denoting an ancient removal of goods, more commonly used by 18th-century excavators of Pompeii, who found that the lighter volcanic covering of that sister city had encouraged some surviving householders to dig out their valuables in later years, on occasion leaving for the benefit of subsequent scavengers a written notice of this entry. At the Villa dei Papiri, however, such early excavators would have found their library reduced to an apparently useless agglomeration of carbonized twigs.

Since 1765, voices throughout the civilized world have called, with intensifying impatience, for resumed excavation of the Villa dei Papiri. Modern methods of controlling subterranean dangers, and of treating and deciphering papyri, have added recent weight to the argument. In 1969, Marcello Gigante, professor of classical philology at the University of Naples, announced the intention of concerned scholars to develop a project for the villa's re-excavation, and to press for government financing to that end. In 1970, the decision of J. Paul Getty to "re-create the Villa dei Papiri as the basis" for his costly museum on the coast of California added its note of the bizarre. Bureaucracy, however, for its part, is never short of arguments for inaction. And, although the detailed plan of the villa by Carl Weber was at hand, together with a vital apparatus of related scholarly observations, the exact site had now become obscure — so much so that a proposal by speculators to build on its presumed location was not officially opposed.

In 1980, Carlo Knight, an independent Neapolitan scholar working with Weber's plan and with some neglected indications from later studies, published his discovery of the earliest entrance to the 18th-century excavation, in a disused "pozzo," or

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On the Stand: Patriots or Rogues?

The first week of Iran-contra hearings quickly displayed the harsh dilemma facing the Reagan Administration. The testimony of the first witness, a retired Air Force general named Richard Secord, threw the untenable choice into sharpest relief: whether to describe those who participated in the Iran-contra affair as patriots or as rogues.

The White House can label Mr. Secord and most of those who will follow him to the stand as patriots. The President, it will be recalled, has already declared Oliver North to be a national hero. If they were patriots pursuing the national interest and doing the President's bidding, then the Administration admits it deliberately evaded the law. Congress had forbidden commerce with terrorist states like Iran and had banned direct and indirect military aid to the Nicaraguan rebels.

If, however, they were rogues pursuing a private policy, some of them inside the Administration and some outside, the White House must explain why they were given such extensive support by the Departments of State and Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency. Above all, it must explain why President Reagan and his Cabinet officers could not or would not control their subordinates.

Mr. Secord portrayed himself as a patriot, ready to tell his story without resorting to Fifth Amendment protection. He insisted he acted under White House orders. And yet this patriot balked at showing Congress the full finances of the operations. That makes all the more intriguing the fascinating trails of money and power that lie ahead. If so ostensibly willing a witness can prevent Congress from fully tracking the money, what can the

committees expect from those patriots or rogues who will follow?

Mr. Secord was conscripted as a private citizen but clothed by the White House with the power to supply a small Central American army and negotiate weapons sales to Iranian hostage holders. As a civilian, he carried out missions forbidden by Congress and disavowed by the President — whose oath says he will faithfully execute the laws.

Within a few years, Mr. Secord amassed at least \$47 million by selling American weapons at huge profits. His assets were swelled by donations from private citizens dunned by the Administration in the name of charity. Then, with the Iran-contra scandal about to explode, this patriot offered to sell back to the United States the assets it had already paid for.

On the witness stand he displayed still more nerve. He proposed giving the proceeds of his various transactions, proceeds still on deposit in his partner's name in Geneva banks, to the William J. Casey Fund for the Contras. Mr. Secord still assumes that they these are private funds that could be given to charity.

The Secord operation combined the worst of two worlds: covert abuse of Government power and the private sector's independence from accountability. The challenge to Congress is already clear. How to write rules curbing potential patriots and rogues without crippling the power to deal flexibly with foreign policy? To learn what it must do, Congress needs first to learn much more about what has been done.

The Bail Bond Phantoms of Baxter Street

Ida Schenkman no longer writes bail bonds from her storefront office behind the Tombs jail on Baxter Street in Manhattan. Her name has disappeared from the Yellow Pages — along with all the other Baxter Street bondsmen. Their departure, and the failure of judges and defense lawyers to adjust to it, intensifies the jail crowding crisis.

Once, a person arrested and jailed pending trial could get out by calling a bail bondsman. In exchange for a small premium and collateral, the bondsman put up the amount of bail the judge set to insure the defendant's appearance at trial. Bail of \$5,000, say, typically costs the defendant \$180.

But over the years, bail bondsmen have been disappearing. In part because of the national bail reform movement that began in the 60's, New York judges now release half of all defendants on their promise to appear. Police stopped arresting gamblers, on whom bondsmen relied for frequent business. Prostitutes, once bailed out by their pimps, now generally plead guilty in exchange for the time they have already served in the lockup.

Meanwhile, New York allows a bail bondsman to collect a premium of only 5 percent for the first \$1,000, and less for larger amounts, one of the lowest rates in the nation. One result: The few bail bondsmen left will handle only big cases.

Another result that bears heavily on the public purse is an increase in jail overload. On April 1,

2,600 detainees, one-fourth of all those awaiting trial, were behind bars because they couldn't post bonds of \$1,000 or less. At any given time, 60 percent of the detainee population is held in lieu of \$2,500 bail or less. Correction officials estimate that a third of those detained for lack of bail have no prior criminal convictions.

Hundreds if not thousands of them would be likely to return for trial. In the old days they would have paid \$25 or \$50 to a bondsman to be released. They remain behind bars now only because many judges act as if the old bail system remained in place, and many defense attorneys don't press the issue.

Fortunately, the law already provides a remedy. A judge may set a reduced cash payment in lieu of a larger bail amount. Yet too many judges don't make use of the option. The cash amount would be larger than the premium for a bail bond — in a case that normally would draw \$1,000 bail, the defendant might deposit \$100 with the court instead of paying \$50 to a bondsman. But unlike the premium, the deposit would be returned when the defendant came back to court.

Since 1983, New York City has spent \$186 million to add 4,200 spaces to its jails. Yet they continue to overflow. This is no time for judges to set bail as if Ida Schenkman and the other phantoms of Baxter Street were still in business.

Cards and Flowers

Mother's Day remains the prototypical greeting card holiday, yet the cards have a strained quality. For instance, one card selected at random from the Mother's Day section of a shop on Fifth Avenue bears the photograph of a monarch butterfly landing in a flower garden. Etched on the pink background are the words, "Mother, You're Especially Dear." Inside, an eight-line rhymed verse begins, "I may not often say so . . ." and ends, "Have a Wonderful Mother's Day."

Cards that gush about Mother's Day are appropriate for those who have gushing relationships with their mothers. But not everyone does and increasingly, there are alternatives to gushing. The most extreme, some people say, is pornography. But the X-rated card invites the same question as the gushing one: How many people have that kind of relationship with their mothers?

A few card producers have adopted a more modest approach. On the face of one such card, a

woman's hands ladle soup into a bowl. But the hands have well-polished fingernails, and they protrude from the sleeve of a business suit. These, in short, are the hands of a working mother. The brief message — "Thank you for your tender loving care. Happy Mother's Day" — might convey tastefully reserved appreciation or veiled resentment.

In truth, Mother's Day cards are a problem because most people's feelings about their mothers defy precise graphic expression. So do many mothers' feelings about themselves.

One man complains that the women in his life — his own mother and a friend who is the single mother of two — disavow any desire to be honored. "They say it's just a commercial stunt," he says. "But that leaves me frustrated. I appreciate what they do as mothers. Why shouldn't I be allowed to make a fuss about it?"

That he plans to do, not with cards, but flowers.

Compassion From Connecticut

The stir over the cause of Representative Stewart McKinney's death ought not distract from his achievements as a public servant. Mr. McKinney, who died last week at age 56, was a man of compassion. His constituency for 17 years was Connecticut's "Gold Coast" Fairfield County, and he was well to do himself. But he was distinguished by his concern for the poor and powerless, from Bridgeport to Saigon.

Mr. McKinney was a liberal Republican; few in his party voted more often than he did against the Reagan Administration. As a member of the banking committee, he had a major hand in shaping Federal housing and urban development programs, as well as aid for New York City and Chrysler. On an issue with little appeal outside Washington, he co-authored the capital's home rule law 14 years ago. This year he took on unpaid parental leave and aid to the homeless.

But the legislation that sets him apart is the Amerasian Immigration Act of 1982, allowing children of American servicemen in Asia to immigrate on the same basis as the children of citizens.

"These are our children," he said, "abandoned in a

Topics of The Times

society which does not recognize them as people because they are not pure."

Criminal Obsession

Mystery fiction is to its fans what bottles are to babies: something for which they perpetually hunger. So they haunt bookstores with names like *Foul Play* and *Scene of the Crime*. They pause for a tour of airport paperbacks even while the flight attendant announces boarding. And they live in fear of the day when their favorite scribbler joins Agatha and Ngaio, Dashiell and Dorothy at that great writers' convention in the sky.

Last week 700 members of the Mystery Writers of America met in New York to talk about crime and hand out Edgar, the mystery writer's Oscars. The award is named after Edgar Allan Poe — ground-breaking author of "The Purloined Letter," and "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," and, oh yes, a poet as well.

The Edgars go to the best in crime fiction, nonfiction, film and television. But if true fans had their way they'd surely go to everyone who ever dipped a pen in gore. Strangling, poisoning and shooting have helped many readers through many nights, and their gratitude is as boundless as the genre they adore.

Letters

Don't Blame Single Women if the World's Changing

To the Editor:

"Single Women: Coping With a Void" (front page, April 28) by Jane Gross offers a distinctly narrow view of the single woman. Throughout the article women are characterized as old maids who have missed the proverbial boat in the hunt-to-marry game and who are left lonely and unfulfilled later in life. Women's choices for careers and independence are pitted against a life of contentment and companionship — suggesting, of course, that the two are mutually exclusive. I am at a loss to understand why such a parochial view of single women's lives is taken.

A more effective discussion of the "dilemma" of single women could focus on the sociocultural reasons why the independent woman, the career woman who has chosen much the same path toward self-fulfillment that men have traditionally taken, finds herself at a moment when male-female socialization patterns have not caught up with reality.

Rather than constituting the problem as particularly female, we should consider it instead as society's. We are witness to a period in history during which the gains of the women's movement have remained substantially unaccompanied by concurrent changes on the part of men.

At base, the problem many single women face is not that they cannot find husbands because they are too old and most men are otherwise occupied. The situation is one in which many women who choose a life giving priority to self-expression and fulfillment outside the wife-mother roles are acting in ways that many men feel threatened by and do not have the internal resources to deal with.

Why does society compel women to choose between a career and marriage, while for men that is a natural combination? In short, this is not a "problem" for women to face alone, something neurotic, as the quotation from the 44-year-old therapist suggests, but a situation with which we as a society must learn to deal.

Finally, both the content and tone of the article suggest that many women (those who end up single and discontented) are not making the right choices. The antifeminist undertones are cause for distress. Does that suggest women should again identify themselves in terms of the man they marry? Is this the way for women to "fill the void"? The answer is a resounding "No!" Men and women must reach higher understandings of one another, and mutual acceptance in their myriad ways of being.

KATHERINE FORREST

New York, April 30, 1987

The writer is a New York University Ph.D. candidate in women's history.

Biased Sampling

To the Editor:

As an epidemiologist and an unmarried woman just a few months from 40, I was appalled by your article's poor research. There was no attempt to draw a representative and balanced cross-section of single women. Instead, anecdotes are presented culled from conversations

with women at singles gatherings and psychiatrists' offices. Women frequent these places because they are unhappy, so they provide dramatic quotations to support the hypothesis. Based on my anecdotal experience and that of my women friends, many unmarried women are unmarried by choice. Women who are unmarried but living with a man or in stable and intimate relationships were not interviewed. And I suspect that women who have been married and are divorced do not feel a need to do it again. These women are busy leading fulfilling lives, and their stories, being happy ones, do not sell papers.

I submit the article was biased in its samplings and did not discuss relevant variables such as prior marital experience. Unfortunately, many women will be needlessly upset by the article.

IDA M. ONORATO

Berkeley, Calif., April 29, 1987

Reluctant to Relate

To the Editor:

As a 39-year-old single professional woman (who is single not by choice), I read with great interest your article on the problem of single women learning to cope with the scarcity of suitable men. Having lived in Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Chicago and Boston, I can testify that the problem is of national proportions.

Among reasons for the lack of available single men you mention



that there are fewer men than women in any age cohort group and that there are three times as many homosexual men as heterosexual women.

But there is also unwillingness or inability among many single heterosexual men to form intimate emotional ties. Whether because of narcissism or poor social skills, many American men simply cannot relate. With the choice of attempting to relate to one of these inaccessible men or finding emotional sustenance in friends, cultural and athletic pursuits, and careers, many women choose the latter. But, ultimately, for many, these activities do not compensate for intimate male companionship in our lives.

There is no easy solution in sight. While some of our national problems are amenable to legislative cure, the loneliness of educated single women is not.

PAMELA FLEETMAN

Cambridge, Mass., April 29, 1987

Why Applaud Meese For Doing His Job?

To the Editor:

Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d's decision to deport Karl Linas to the Soviet Union after having made every attempt secretly to send him elsewhere is hardly what I would call a "courageous act," your April 29 editorial notwithstanding.

And while I agree that barring Kurt Waldheim from the United States was an unexpected move in the Reagan era, note that the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations has stated that evidence against Mr. Waldheim was so substantial that had he been a U.S. citizen, his citizenship would have been revoked and deportation proceedings begun.

Mr. Meese was simply doing what he gets paid to do. Is it naïve to expect integrity from the Attorney General? It is certainly inappropriate to ask me to applaud it, particularly when it appears that Mr. Meese was finally left no choice but to act in a responsible fashion.

JILL KIRSCHENBAUM

New York, May 1, 1987

The Danger of Giving and Taking Advice

To the Editor:

In his right-on-the-jaw column of April 29, James Reston gives Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger "a word of advice about the dangers of giving advice."

"If there's one thing officials have more than criticism from columnists in general, it's public advice from their predecessors in office. It's true that the worst men often give the best advice, but those who need it most like it least, and the better the advice is, the more it's likely to be ignored and resented."

Now here is Francesco Guicciardini, the great 16th-century Italian historian, commenting on Piero de' Medici in exile asking advice of the Venetian senate:

"Nothing certainly is more necessary in arduous deliberations, and nothing on the other hand more dangerous, than to ask advice. Nor is there any question that advice is less necessary to wise men than to unwise; and yet wise men derive much more benefit from taking counsel. 'For, whose judgment is so perfect

Encore, Encore

To the Editor:

Thanks ever so for running that neat article on how single women feel sorry for themselves. What I really liked about it was how it wasn't the least little bit slanted. After all, "void," "stigma," "aging brings acceptance," "rabid" feminist response — those are all neutral terms.

I look forward to the rest of the series this inaugurates: "Married Women: Satisfied and Secure" and "Single Men: Living Alone and Loving It (Desperate Women Available by the Score)." CYNTHIA HARRISON

Washington, April 29, 1987

Single Men

To the Editor:

Jane Gross's "Single Women: Coping With a Void" (April 28) discusses among the sources of female anxiety the biological clock ticking theory, frequently cited as a uniquely female phenomenon not affecting men — after all, men can have children at almost any age.

Your female readers might be interested in knowing that among my New York heterosexual single male cohort (age 35 to 45) a not dissimilar cry is now heard, to the effect of: "I have never gotten anyone pregnant. I wonder if I can."

While on the surface this remark does not appear to address the same issues, I can assure you that a good number of eligible men are just as anxious to meet, marry and multiply as some of the women you quoted.

Can Ms. Gross provide any phone numbers? RICHARD JAY GERBER

New York, April 28, 1987

Stereotype and Stigma

To the Editor:

Your article on single women was extremely one-sided in that it ignored the plight of single men.

Single women greatly outnumber single men in the 45-plus age group. But in the 20 to 35 age range, single men outnumber single women by an equally large margin, especially if one looks outside major cities. In Colorado, for example, 340,000 adult men have never been married, as opposed to 250,000 women.

You dismiss single men with locker-room stereotypes ("many single men are homosexuals"). If you had investigated the problems of single men instead, you would find among single men exactly the same troubles you found among women.

Single men, especially in the 20 to 35 age group, face depression, have a suicide rate three times that of women of any age and face social stigmas every bit as harsh as single women do. Furthermore, there is virtually no place they can turn to for help — and the biggest social stigma of all is against men seeking help.

Our society commonly exhibits a much greater sympathy for the human problems of women than it does for men's troubles. But this prejudice has no business on your front page. SANDY SILLMAN

Watertown, Mass., April 29, 1987

How to Improve the Bidding Process on Government Contracts

To the Editor:

Everyone is aware that contractors routinely abuse the process by which the Federal Government awards bids, especially but not exclusively in the case of bids for defense-related projects. The first abuse, unrealistically low bids, corrupts and distorts the Federal budgetary process. The second abuse, chronic cost overruns, in excess not only of the amount bid but of an amount for which the work could reasonably have been completed, costs the taxpayers billions each year.

I believe that both of these problems stem in part from the current practice of reimbursing bidders on the conventional "cost plus" basis and that both could be significantly abated by a simple change in reimbursement procedures. Costs should be reimbursed on the basis of the amount spent ("cost") with the

"plus" being calculated as a percentage of the bid and not as a percentage of actual expenditures.

Under such an approach, prospective contractors would be less inclined to submit unrealistically low bids because their profit margin — which would become a fixed, not a variable amount upon the award of a contract — would be unattractively small in the case of an unrealistically low bid. More important, the new system would enforce cost-consciousness for successful bidders. In the current scheme, the more maladroit,

corrupt and exorbitant the job, the larger the profit. Under the new scheme, greater expense would mean a lower percentage return to capital, not always an easy thing to explain to shareholders. It would, however, still be the case that successful bidders could not lose money, so it seems unlikely that the change in procedures would greatly reduce the number of bidders on Federal contracts.

I think this system could save the Government very substantial sums of money. PAUL METZ

Blacksburg, Va., April 22, 1987



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Death Row

By William Styron

In October 1983, four days before he was scheduled to be executed in the electric chair at the Florida state prison at Starke, something took place that enraged Shabaka Sumdiata Waglini more than any single event during his nearly 10 years on death row. They came into his cell and measured him for his burial suit. The bloodlessly finicky, mechanical tailoring procedure upset him violently.

I recently met him, and he said, call me Shabaka. Shabaka — 34 years old when he faced death, was born Joseph Green Brown in Charleston, S.C. — had been convicted for the 1973 murder, along with the robbery and rape, of a Tampa white woman. "Shabaka," a name he took before going to prison, means "uncompromising" in Swahili.

Shortly after the suit was measured, Shabaka was asked to order his last meal — he could have virtually anything he wanted — but he rejected the offer as gratuitously insulting.

One shrinks from thinking how a man prepares himself to face this form of extinction. While little can be said in favor of any type of execution, death by electric current is truly primitive, one that has not really been improved — if improvements are imaginable — since a convicted murderer received the inaugural 2,000 volts at New York's Auburn prison in 1890. It is a broiling process at intensely high temperature. The doctors who ascertain death must wait six or seven minutes for the body to cool down so they can touch it. Pigs and cattle go more expeditiously into that good night. Shabaka thought about the manner of his dying more than once.

He had good reason to believe that because he was black he had been dealt cards from a stacked deck.

As it happened, a juror at his trial had sent an affidavit to Shabaka's minister, the Rev. Joe Ingle of the Nashville-based Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons, asserting that a jury member had advocated the chair for Shabaka, a former Black Panther, because "that nigger's been nothing but trouble since he came down here, and he'll be trouble until we get him off the streets."

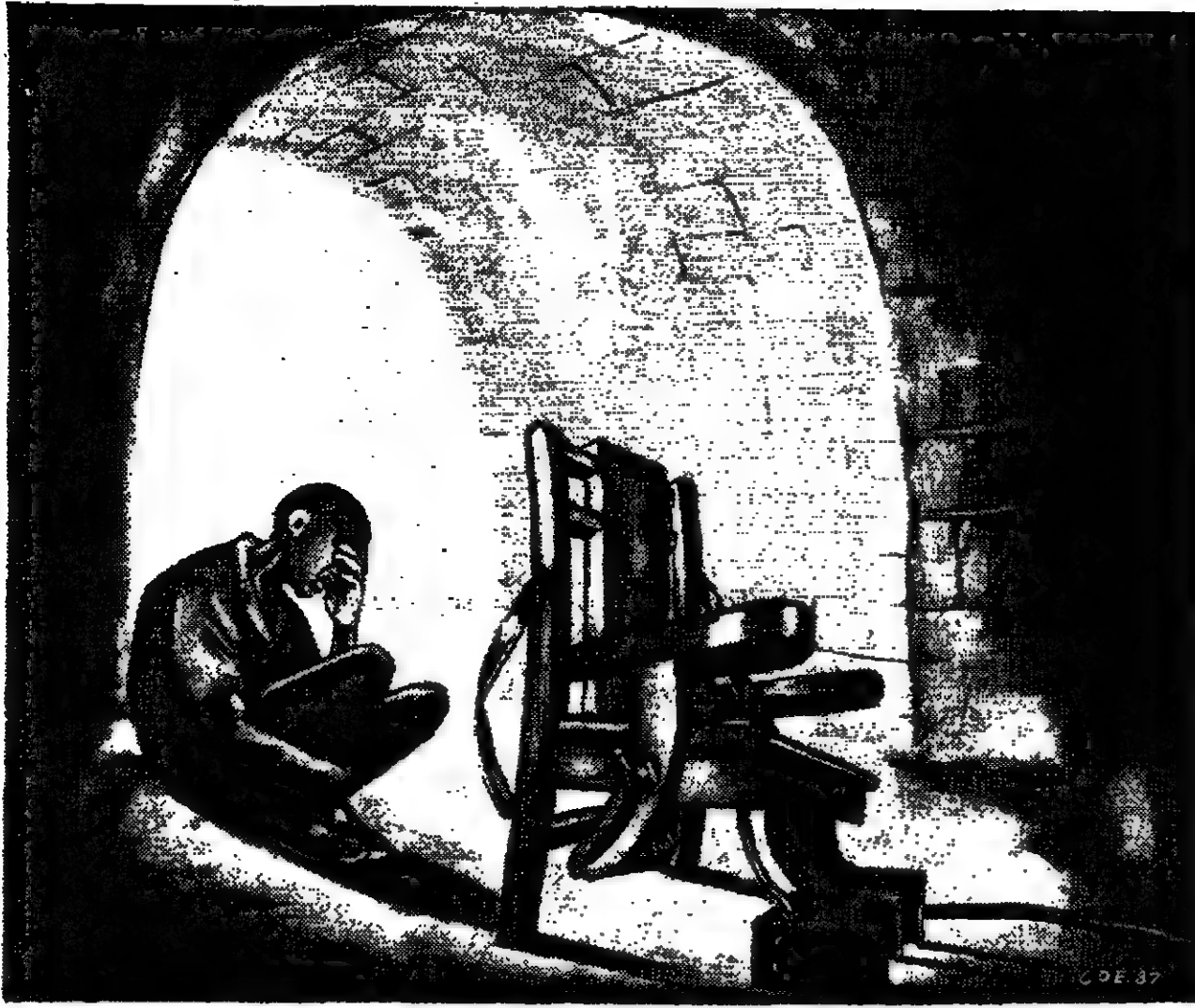
One's mouth goes dry at such an utterance, especially in light of the recent United States Supreme Court decision that racial prejudice, as a decisive factor in the administration of the death penalty, is theoretical and therefore of no importance.

In truth, racial discrimination, far from being of no importance, has an omnipresence that the remarks of that Florida juror utterly confirm. After trials, like Shabaka's, how can the Court's ruling appear anything but a cruel and monumental deceit?

In the United States, blacks and Hispanics suffer the death penalty in grave disproportion. They also tend, like Shabaka, to be poor, and therefore they receive legal counsel that more often than not is slapdash and deficient. Shabaka possessed a couple of sorry impediments when he went into his trial: He was black and penniless. They represented one of several arguments amid a constellation of many arguments against the death penalty.

But what would be the case in favor of killing Shabaka? (A previous armed robbery hardly gained him sympathy.) There is no doubt that the crime of which he had been convicted was terrible. Those who felt no qualms about placing him in the electric chair, including many of clear and subtle intelligence, might have wished to justify his execution on one or the other, or both, of two grounds. There really aren't any more. The most obvious of these is deterrence: By putting Shabaka and all other brutal killers to death, we think we

William Styron is a novelist.



dissuade the like-minded from committing similar crimes.

But it never has been proved that the death penalty prevents murder. Indeed, there is convincing evidence — displayed among other damning exhibits in Amnesty International's recent report on the death penalty in America — that executions frequently cause an increase in violent crimes.

In some countries — Canada, for example — the murder rate has fallen after abolition of the death penalty. Sincere foes of that penalty rarely are sentimentalists. There are those who would have opposed Shabaka's execution for any reason — feeling it was cruel and barbaric, or merely because it violated the sanctity of life. The resolve of many pragmatic opponents would be undermined were there hard proof that the death penalty prevents murders — but proof does not exist.

The crime that sealed Shabaka's

The story of a crime in Florida.

fate was one that would bring out retributive fury in most people. Simple vengeance would have been the other rationale for seeking his death. The impulse toward vengeance is understandably relentless; many people, not necessarily bloodthirsty, would without shame declare a wish to have Shabaka killed just as a way to get even. And why shouldn't we acknowledge this? For, paradoxically, it is in the realm of vengeance that the feelings of many death penalty supporters and some opponents converge, though they do not coincide.

Any harsh sentence imposed for a particularly brutal crime contains an element of retaliation, satisfying a need on the part of the victim's ghost, the close survivors and perhaps even society.

At the time of Shabaka's trial, there were quite a few onlookers who, though they rejected the death penalty, admitted they wanted to see Shabaka suffer a very hard time. But they also rejected a vengeance that

extended to the electric chair, with its irremediable finality.

By the time Mr. Shabaka's date with the executioner neared in 1983, he had made as good use of his time as a man can under the circumstances. He worked on his case, wrote letters and, like many inmates, became a devoted reader. He greatly fancied modern American novels and developed a love for classical music. As he sweated it out, there were scores of convicts throughout America's prison system who were doing time for crimes that were almost identical to the one for which Shabaka had been condemned.

Those who were truly dangerous among these criminals would, or should, never be released. Others, after serving long terms — an average of 20 years or more — would be released on parole, and scarcely a soul among them would be returned to prison for a subsequent crime.

Why hadn't Shabaka been permitted to join this favored majority? Why had he and a small fraction of other felons been singled out to die while vastly larger numbers of criminals paying penance for misdeeds virtually the same as his were allowed to work out their destinies?

The absence of answers — which emphasizes the blind inequity of the death penalty — is another major reason why its use is immoral and unacceptable. But in Shabaka's case, the questions were really academic — because he was innocent.

The legalized killing of innocent people is the final indictment of capital punishment. For years, Shabaka had insisted on his innocence of the rape, robbery and murder. All along, he had admitted to a robbery — but this at a time and a place different from those of the murder.

Only 13 hours before Shabaka's appointment with death, a three-judge panel of the Federal circuit court of appeals in Atlanta stayed the execution on grounds that the case merited further examination. Shabaka returned to his cell and began to petition for a new trial.

In the years that followed, ugly details came to light: During the first trial, the prosecutor had concealed Federal Bureau of Investigation evidence showing that the fatal bullet could not have been fired from Shabaka's gun. Shabaka based his new claim on this fact and on his assertion that the prosecutor had allowed a cru-

cial witness to lie while also misleading the jury in his closing argument.

Last year, the circuit court ordered a new trial. Before it could begin, the original witness admitted he had lied. Florida, sensing it had no case, abandoned its prosecution, and early last March Shabaka left jail a free man, his only possessions being the clothes on his back and his legal papers. Between the ages of 23 and 37, he had spent the rich marrow of his youth on death row.

The Shabaka story illuminates the most sordid defects of capital punishment. His blackness and poverty helped doom him. He was ruthlessly cheated; it was never his privilege to be granted — even for a phantom crime — the incarceration that is meted out to others and that carries the possibility of redemption.

He would have died not a criminal but a victim whose innocence would have been as surely entombed as his body in its burial suit.

Today, Shabaka makes his home in Florida. There "decompressing," as he puts it, from his years in a cell, he reads and listens to tapes of classical symphonies. May he live in peace.

ON MY MIND | A. M. Rosenthal

The Tears of Mrs. Hart

Gary Hart said he woke up about 4 A.M., and decided hell, no, he wouldn't just go out quietly but would speak his mind, tell everybody about the dreadful times we are in. He ought to know that those wonderful middle-of-the-night inspirations don't look so good in daylight.

Instead of saying goodbye with a measure of dignity, regret and introspection, Gary Hart told us he had decided that Gary Hart was a wonderful man after all and that everybody was responsible for Gary Hart's political demise except Gary Hart.

I like myself, said Gary Hart, take me or leave me. Blame? Those others out there. He almost managed to make The Miami Herald look good and it is not his fault he didn't succeed.

Who was responsible for the Hart disaster? The press! The press kept insisting on examining him and finding out the kind of fellow he was and this got between Gary and the voters and prevented him from getting his point of view across to the public!

As it happens, I believe that The Miami Herald acted poorly journalistically. It was right going after the story once it received a tip that Gary Hart was having an affair, this time with a specific young woman who was on her way to his Washington home.

The rumors about Mr. Hart have been a time bomb ticking away in his campaign, and if he chose to light the fuse, that certainly told something about the front-running candidate of the Democratic Party.

But The Miami Herald shoved the story in hastily and sloppily between editions. Editors with a sense of responsibility to their public and papers do not breathlessly bang in a story that can affect the national destiny.

If they have to come in second because they take time and care, that is not a matter of journalistic disgrace but journalistic honor. Editors should be competitive, but not to the point of shoveling in an important story that could destroy lives without getting all the facts possible and giving people a decent time to reply.

And I felt that The Herald damaged journalistic self-respect by skulking around Mr. Hart's house all night, hiding out in the bushes. An unmarked car or van with spotters inside is a bush with four wheels.

But along comes Mr. Hart to turn what could have been his finest moment into a spasm of self-pity. He said he was not very good at talking about himself or playing the political

game. Really? Then what in heaven's name was he wasting our time for by running for President?

That was bad enough but then Mr. Hart tried to turn himself into the victim and the press the criminal. It is absolutely true that running for President is a strenuous, nerve-racking process, that the press often pushes too hard and asks embarrassing and even vulgar questions.

It is also absolutely true that Mr. Hart and every other candidate reach their voters through the press, print and electronic. Virtually every important thing they say gets printed or broadcast. Often, over and over, because most politicians say the same thing every day wherever they are.

Mr. Hart said not a word, not one blessed word, about what did ruin his career, and the careers and lives of so many political workers who had put their faith in him — not the press, but his own conduct. His very strong wife, said Mr. Hart, was brought close to tears because she could not get into her own house without being harassed.

As a journalist, I am often appalled by the crush of reporters around a public figure. But not as appalled as I was when I heard a man who wanted to be President talking about his wife's tears without having the courage to say that it was he

who had brought tears into her life by his behavior. That is what wrecked his future and hers.

It was not Mr. Hart's sexual ethic that was the issue to me. It was a feeling that by taking the risk he did he had a dangerous longing for the high wire. Now, through his own mouth and mind, he has shown us the sad truth.

At best, he never understood himself and what he was doing. At worst, he understood quite well but even at the end had to blame others — never himself.

Yes, as Mr. Hart said, we all have to do some hard thinking about the way we choose Presidents. Journalists have to think about whether they should act like snoopers and private eyes even if they have the First Amendment right to do so.

We need leaders who see things clearly, starting with themselves. Mr. Hart showed himself unable to see himself at all. Thus, in the end, Gary Hart disqualified Gary Hart from being President of the United States. He does not know the tears he sees are caused by himself.

A strange farewell by the candidate.

CUSTOMER INFORMATION FROM GENERAL MOTORS

HOW GM IS TAKING THE LEAD IN QUALITY

NOT JUST WORLD CLASS—A NEW, SCIENTIFIC STANDARD OF EXCELLENCE.

People were calling the heartland of American industry "The Rust Belt." It was 1980. We said there would be an American industrial renaissance. And we meant it.

GM laid out a four-part strategy. And went to work.

At the heart of the strategy is the automobile. And at the heart of the automobile is the drivetrain. We were determined to set a new standard of excellence with the automobile in operation.

And we decided to do it the hard way. Instead of using engineering specifications or a survey method that fit well with our strengths and minimized our weaknesses, we asked you, our customer, what you want and need in an automobile in operation, what we call driveability.

Then we took the desires of the most demanding drivers, the 90th percentile, and called that standard our minimum. We said that every GM car, not just those that cost \$25,000 or more, would have to meet the 90th percentile standard.

World class, which had been sufficient during the early stages of our strategy, was not a tough enough standard anymore. The GM Uniform Test Standard is a dynamic measure of excellence in engineering and manufacturing on a scale determined by the customer. It is the

most rigorous test in the industry.

Across our entire 1987 production, from the Allante to the lowest priced car we

parts other than the engine and transmission—GM is also making enormous strides toward setting new standards of excellence.

Make Your Own Comparison

We invite you to visit any GM dealer to test drive any new GM car. Compare its driveability to your demanding standards. Then compare it to any of the cars built by our competitors.

For example: Take any expensive Japanese car, with air conditioning, automatic transmission, and so on, and compare it to a medium-priced GM car. You're the customer, you decide which car has the best driveability. See for yourself how GM's vision is paying off.

sell, 96% of all GM vehicles tested meet the driveability expectation of the most demanding customers—the 90th percentile.

Here are some of the tests: After sitting out all night in low temperatures, the cars are checked for ease of starting and ability to back out of the garage and accelerate when cold. Then we check for idling at stop lights and smooth acceleration to 15, 25, 35, 45 and 55 mph maneuvers.

Every car is checked for performance in hard braking to a stop and then accelerating into traffic. And at the same time, the transmissions are evaluated for shift smoothness, noise, and overall operation.

When that's all done, we do it all over again under hot operating conditions.

The result: so far in 1987, 96% of all GM cars tested meet or exceed the demanding driver's standard.

On other aspects of quality—the fit and finish of the

And our goal is to keep raising the standard until GM cars stand above their competition in every category and every price range.

We've made this leap in quality here in America. In Fort Wayne, Ind., and Linden, N.J. In Michigan

and Georgia and California. We are doing it here. With the best people and the best technology in the world.

We had a vision. We believed an American industrial renaissance was possible. And it is!

We are demonstrating to our fellow Americans in industry that timidity is not the answer. Retrenchment is no solution. At GM, we say, "Go for it!" And we have.

The vision is paying off.

This advertisement is part of our continuing effort to give customers useful information about their cars and trucks and the company that builds them.



Chevrolet • Pontiac
Oldsmobile • Buick
Cadillac • GMC Truck

The Democrats' Trade Folly

By Ted Van Dyk

It is up to Democrats in the Senate to reaffirm their party's long-standing commitment to free trade by voting "no" to protectionist legislation. That is the only way they can atone for the irresponsible behavior of their Democratic colleagues in the House, who handed President Reagan an enormous political gift when they passed (with the help of 17 Republicans) the Gephardt amendment to the trade bill.

But if the amendment, a reactionary product of economic illiteracy and political expediency, is not rejected by the Senate, the President should do the country a favor by vetoing the bill and explaining in clear terms the damage it would do to our national interest. In doing so, he would be able to place the blame on Democrats who are grotesquely out of step with their party's heritage.

For a web of reasons, among them the Administration's misbegotten economic management during the past six years and our own private sector's complacency, the United States finds itself running trade deficits with a number of countries with which it used to enjoy substantial surpluses. To tell those countries, as the Gephardt amendment does, that they

are to be automatically "punished" if they don't systematically reduce their surpluses, is just as irrational and contrary to international rules of conduct as it would have been for them to take such actions against us a few years back for our sin of having a surplus.

There are internationally negotiated rules, agreed to by all members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which offer us ample means to call to account any trading partner we believe to be unfairly subsidizing its own exports or blocking ours. The United States, over half a century, has been the leader in trying to build a fair and increasingly open international trading system through such institutions as GATT. The Democratic Party has long been the leading proponent of such a course.

Now, all that apparently is to be disregarded in a rush to distract voters from the President's and the Congress's failures to come to grips with domestic imperatives, beginning with responsible reduction of Federal budget deficits.

People who care ought to keep a list of the House vote. Particular attention and gratitude are owed to 55 Democrats who opposed the amendment. Among them were the House majority leader, Tom Foley, and Ways and Means Committee chairman Dan Rostenkowski, as well as Don Bonker and Sam M. Gibbons, subcommittee chairmen respected by their colleagues for their attention to the substance of trade policy issues. They kept faith not only with their party's tradition but also with

their own integrity.

Over the past six years, I have attended periodic "strategy" meetings in which Democrats, frustrated and angered by President Reagan's Teflon success, have discussed courses of counterattack. Inevitably, voices have been raised in such sessions suggesting that "trade is a good issue and we ought to use it." Yet, on pressing those making such suggestions for further details, I've often discovered they had little in mind beyond pointing to the deficits as a Reagan failure or kicking around allies and trading partners as convenient scapegoats.

If the 201 House Democrats who voted for the Gephardt amendment want to do something about trade, they can do it now by taking the political heat attendant to cutting spending and raising taxes necessary to bringing the Reagan budget deficits below the danger point. They also can smoke out the President by passing legislation — and forcing him to veto it, if he dares — making the public investments that will improve the country's long-term competitive position.

The American people will respond to positive, large-minded leadership. They all reject negative, narrow appeals that go against their basic values and common sense. By passing the Gephardt amendment, House Democrats and their Republican allies have chosen the latter and let the President off the hook by offering him the former. To paraphrase Eleanor Roosevelt, they have chosen to curse the darkness rather than light candles readily at hand.

Ted Van Dyk, a public-policy consultant, has served in Democratic Administrations and campaigns since 1961.

Riding China's Capitalist Road

Two joint-venture managers try to bring Western ways to the factory floor.

By EDWARD A. GARGAN

BEIJING

IN 1979, with an economy staggering from a decade of chaos during the Cultural Revolution, the leader of China, Deng Xiaoping, set an ambitious course of economic reform. His idea: to wrench China's stagnant economy from orthodox socialist central planning and management by embracing some economic ideas of the capitalist West.

One part of the push was to designate Shenzhen — an area of about 2,000 square kilometers abutting Hong Kong — as a "special economic zone" that uses some free-market principles to focus on high-tech, export-oriented industries.

Another component of Deng's program was a dramatic opening to foreign investment. Investors from Hong Kong, Europe, the United States and Japan — seized by what has become known as "the two billion mentality" — flocked to Beijing.

Investment has proceeded slowly, in large part because of complaints about China's bureaucratic inertia and ineptitude. And recent political uncertainties and questions about the pace of economic reform have made some potential investors cautious.

But foreign businesses and joint ventures are part of China today. United States investment has increased steadily over the past eight years, to \$1.5 billion. Only Hong Kong has a bigger stake.

With all this, managers of some business operations in China — be they American or Chinese — have been coping with similar problems: changing expectations and routines at the workplace. The following is a look at two such managers, each running a joint venture.

CHINA," said Irl R. Hicks, a man given to plain speaking, was "somewhere on the other side of the map. Nixon had come here in 1970 or something. That's all I knew."

Now, in Beijing, about a half-hour's drive west from the huge picture of Mao Zedong on the Gate to the Heavenly City, Mr. Hicks oversees 2,200 Chinese employees and a \$6 million investment by his employer, Babcock and Wilcox, the New Orleans-based subsidiary of McDermott Inc.

A mechanical engineer, Mr. Hicks has spent his career with Babcock and Wilcox. Since 1956, he has worked as a field service engineer, a boiler salesman and a project manager in the company's nuclear division. One day in 1985 Babcock asked him to go to Beijing to run a joint venture. "Basically all they said was, 'Go to China. Good luck,'" he said.

Under its contract with the state-owned Beijing Boiler Works, its joint-venture partner, Babcock is supplying the boiler technology to help China build — and eventually export — 250 megawatt coal-fired boilers, the kind found in a city power plant. Up to now, the factory has produced only 25 megawatt boilers.

Mr. Hicks says he saw "a diamond in the rough" when he first laid eyes on the plant, a six-square-block collection of red-brick factory buildings, steel storage yards, half-fabricated black boilers and scrawny trees. "It was a garbage dump," he said.

Since then, he has transformed the factory into a relatively efficient, profitable enterprise. At the heart of his effort, he says, is the use of Western management techniques.

"When we came in, there were 600 beds in the factory," said Mr. Hicks, the profusion of broad flat vowels betraying his South Dakota roots. "People were sleeping all over the place."

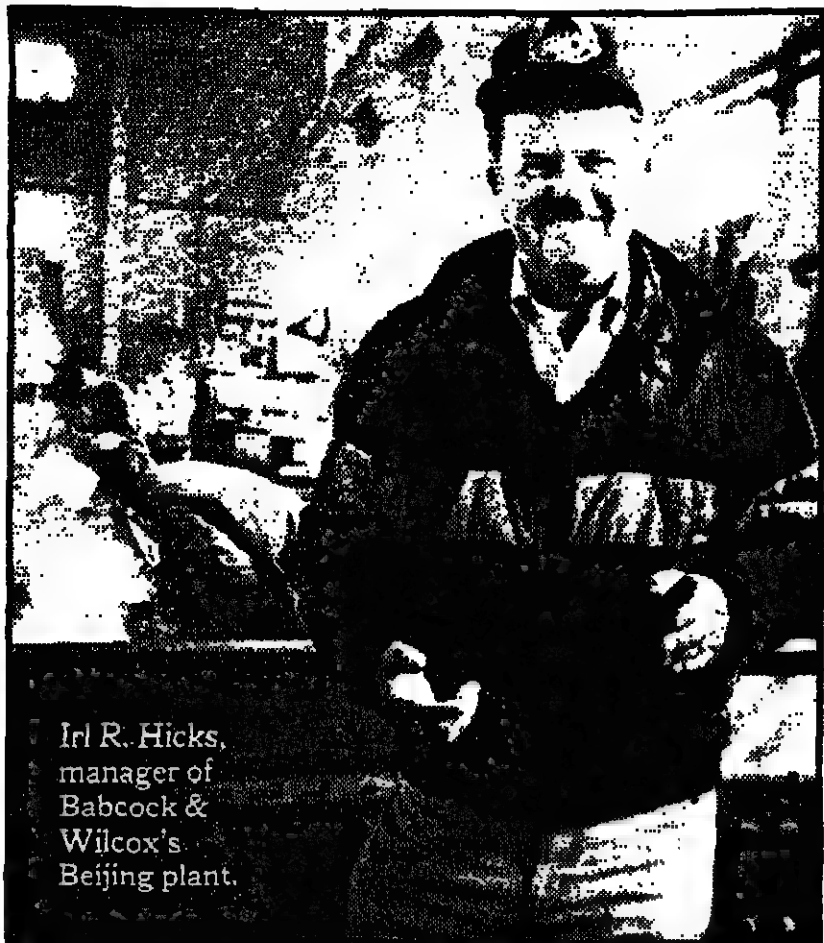
Napping was simply one of the habits, assumed rights and work practices confronting Mr. Hicks and the eight other managers Babcock sent to run the plant.

Mr. Hicks, whose title is "Zong Jingli," or general manager, changed much of this. He added a third work shift, reassigned groups of workers, started a bonus system, strengthened work rules and moved a lot of machines around. He even fired workers, an act virtually unheard of in China, which clings to the "iron rice bowl," a system of lifetime employment.

During his first days at the plant, said Mr. Hicks, "there were about 3,600 people here — 1,200 working and 2,400 loafing." Now, several times a day, Mr. Hicks or one of his fellow expatriates roams the factory buildings, clicking a little silver counter. "What we do is count who's working," he said, his gaze flickering over a group of welders. "If they're standing around, we don't count 'em."

The counts are crucial to the new pay system devised by Mr. Hicks. Under Chinese regulations, Babcock is required to pay its workers an average of at least 56 cents an hour. More than half is withheld and paid to the Chinese Government to cover benefits such as housing, medical care, education and retirement income. But the Chinese gave Mr. Hicks a free hand with the rest, and he started a "motivation program."

First, he raised salaries. Average weekly take-home pay went to \$45, from \$21. Then he devised a pay plan that included steep bonuses and a six-tier salary structure. The little silver clickers help determine which departments get the higher bonuses.



Irl R. Hicks, manager of Babcock & Wilcox's Beijing plant.

The New York Times/Photos by Edward A. Gargan

The Western-style pay program has run into its share of problems. In August, some workers went out on a wildcat strike. Several hundred employees from the structural shop — whose bonuses had been lower than those in other, more productive shops — surrounded Mr. Hicks, screaming and throwing bricks through factory windows. After two days, with the help of Communist Party representatives, tempers cooled and the strike ended. The pay system remained. "I didn't change a thing," said Mr. Hicks, who is now considering a 10-tier system.

So far, the main beneficiaries of the new wage structure are workers directly involved in production — welders, for example. Their pay has been approaching that of the engineers. "The engineers complained," Mr. Hicks said. "But I said, 'Listen, they're the ones making money for us.' So I have 1,600 to 1,700 workers who are happy and a couple hundred engineers who are not."

Mr. Hicks has also tinkered with production. "A lot of operations and machines were in the wrong place."

Irl Hicks even fires workers, which is rarely done in China.

The Chinese are batch processors. They want to complete step one on 10,000 pieces and then move all 10,000 pieces to the next station. We're moving things along now.

And he has changed the work rules. "There's no drinking, no sleeping, no card-playing allowed," said Mr. Hicks. Employees must also wear identification badges and are restricted to 45 minutes for lunch. "Before," said Mr. Hicks, "they must have taken two to three hours." In enforcing the new rules, "we've fired seven workers — for things like stealing and insubordination," Mr. Hicks said. Chinese regulations require an extensive evaluation of dismissal cases, he said, but the violations were so egregious that his joint-venture partner raised no objection.

Also dismissed: one-third of the supervisory staff. Under the previous management, says Mr. Hicks, there was one supervisor for every five workers. Now, the ratio is 1 to 15, he said. "We let the Chinese pick the supervisors. Then we changed a lot of them. We kept the good ones and got rid of the bad ones."

So far, it all seems to be working. In

the plant's fifth month of production, its revenues exceeded the record month for the old factory by 6 percent. "We shipped 35 boilers in the first five months," said Mr. Hicks. "We expect to produce 80 boilers this year, 79 small ones and one big one." Already, he has begun to turn a profit, he said. "I've made money six out of seven months so far."

Mr. Hicks said he routinely puts in 12-hour days to make that money. On the other hand, at night he goes home to the I.M. Pei-designed Fragrant Hills Hotel. Its gardens, gymnasium and swimming pool are a sharp contrast to the small cold-water flats that most urban Chinese — including Mr. Hicks's counterparts at state-run factories — call home.

With production up at the factory, Mr. Hicks is turning his attention to exporting. But first, he must get his boilers certified. "There is a Chinese code, but whoever heard of it?" he said. "We have to get the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in here. If you have an A.S.M.E. boiler you can take it anywhere."

SHENZHEN is about 2,500 kilometers from Beijing and separated from the rest of China by barbed-wire fences, soldiers and checkpoints. This stretch of land, where paddy fields have yielded to factories, boutiques, offices and boulevards, is at the leading edge of China's modernization effort.

Empty factory buildings, their vacant windows clouded with dust, are a frequent sight, because imports of consumer goods have proved easier to come by than exports of manufactured products. But slowly, officials say, this eight-year-old experiment in quasi-capitalism is starting to work.

If Shenzhen is to succeed, it will depend on people like Zheng Shiqin, a pole-thin man of unrestrained energy who, despite his title of assistant general manager, runs the Hua Fa Electronic Company day-to-day.

"I've been here from the beginning, since 1983," said Mr. Zheng, speaking through an interpreter. He got the job while he was assistant manager of an electric-parts plant in Jiangxi, in Guangdong province. "I sent an application to Shenzhen's personnel organization. After investigating me for four months, they hired me," he said.

Hua Fa is a tripartite joint venture — involving a Hong Kong investor, China's Ministry of Electronics Industry and a Shenzhen entity called the Holding Group Company of Shenzhen. The factory produces three major products: color televisions (largely with imported parts, most notably South Korean TV tubes), printed circuit boards for use in the TV's and for export, and plastic products, including casings for the TV's.

The technology and design for the circuit boards came from the Hong Kong investor, says Mr. Zheng. The Hong Kong partner is also the gen-

eral manager, though he comes to the factory only once a month for an hour or so. "The Hong Kong boss is a very busy man," said Mr. Zheng, who, like Mr. Hicks, is a mechanical engineer. "So I run the company."

There is little about the way the 50-year-old Mr. Zheng runs Hua Fa that would be familiar to the Communist Party secretaries who control most state-run factories in China. On each floor there is a time clock, a mechanism unheard of in China. No Chinese agency guarantees supplies — Mr. Zheng must buy them on the open market. And workers are hired by the managers, not by the state. "We want young workers," said Mr. Zheng, adding that "all our workers have graduated from middle school." Most important of all, the party has no say in how things are run. "Here," Mr. Zheng said, "the manager decides."

Mr. Zheng, who learned about Western-style management by attending a program in Nanjing in 1980, likes to compare Hua Fa to his old factory in Jiangxi. "In Jiangxi, we had the big pot and iron rice bowl," he said, referring to the system of equal salaries and job guarantees. "My work is smoother here because I run the company. But work here is also more complicated."

Indeed, Mr. Zheng's daily headaches are not unlike those of his counterparts in other Asian countries. "The major problem at the moment is that imported components do not come on time and domestic components do not come on time," he said.

"We also have a lack of technical designers and radio technicians." Last year, he says, electrical power was in short supply, a chronic problem in China. (Now, with Shenzhen purchasing electricity from Hong Kong, any factory with the resources can buy as much power as it needs.)

Yearly production at Hua Fa is at about 150,000 TV sets. That is not enough for Mr. Zheng, who is opening an assembly line in a new, bigger factory building that will have a capacity of 450,000 to 500,000 sets a year.

Bearing the brand name Multitech, the sets are the only ones made in China with the Underwriters Laboratory certification, Mr. Zheng says. "Products exported to America need to be higher quality," he said. "If there's a scratch on the cabinet, Americans won't buy." (The small color sets sell for about \$178 in the United States.) Hua Fa also produces sets for the Hong Kong and British markets and some for domestic consumption.

Like Mr. Hicks, Mr. Zheng relies on bonuses and incentives to spur productivity. "Our per-capita productivity was 200,000 yuan last year," he said, a sum equivalent to \$54,054. "In the Jiangxi factory, the productivity of a worker was only 30,000 yuan a year," or about \$8,100.

"We also have a point system," Mr. Zheng said. "We give points according to production, quality of work, discipline and time spent at work. The bonuses are secret. You get your bonus in an envelope."

The pool of money for these bonuses varies with the plant's monthly profitability, but the average bonus has been running about 50 yuan a month, about \$13.50, with some rising to 90 yuan. Straight salaries, meanwhile, average 150 yuan, or \$37.83 a month, with another 50 yuan for food.

This doesn't include the two hours of overtime that workers in good health are required to put in beyond their eight-hour days. With overtime and bonuses, a worker's salary can reach 360 yuan a month, about \$97.20, a sum three times what a worker in a state-owned factory usually earns. "As you expect," Mr. Zheng said, "the workers are happier here than in a state-owned enterprise."

Discipline at Hua Fa is stringently enforced through work rules — productivity quotas, an identity badge requirement, half-hour lunch periods. "We can cut bonuses, publicly criticize or move a worker to another job," Mr. Zheng said. "We can advise the worker to leave."

Mr. Zheng believes it will be some time, if ever, before the fluid management practices of the Shenzhen region can be applied to the bulk of Chinese industry. "This management system will not wholly replace the other system," he said. Still, I think the rest of the country could adopt some of our practices."

Zheng Shiqin, the Chinese manager who runs the Hua Fa Electronic Company in China's special economic zone.



The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Bond Traders Add Japan to Their Worries

Bond prices bobbed and weaved on uncertainty over interest rates, trade relations with Japan and the dollar. Prices of Treasury securities plummeted as Japanese investors stayed out of the auction of 10-year notes, apparently fearful that the fall of the dollar against the yen would make the investments less attractive. But prices recovered some as the Japanese participated in an auction of 30-year bonds. Investors had feared a slowdown in Japanese investment in American securities, which would have forced interest rates higher. Still, bond prices are way down from their recent high levels.

The stock market worried about the bond market and was unable to sustain a rally that included a 51.85-point gain on Tuesday. For the week, the Dow Jones industrial average gained 41.90, closing at 2,322.30.

The Fed and Japan are trying to negotiate a deal under which the United States would raise its discount rate and Japan would lower its rate. The coordinated move would help stabilize the dollar and ease some of the trade tensions between the two nations. But Japan is reportedly resisting, noting that its discount rate already is just 2½ percent, while the Fed discount rate is 5½ percent. Separately, Secretary of State George Shultz warned Japan that it would be in "very serious trouble" if it did not reduce its trade surplus.

The Senate Finance Committee approved a trade bill that is not nearly as strict as the one passed by the House. The Senate measure requires far less retaliation than the House bill, but President Reagan has indicated it is still too protectionist.

Unemployment dropped to a 10-year low of 6.2 percent overall in April, from 6.5 percent, on the strength of new jobs mostly in the service industries. Good gains were shown by construction jobs as well.

"Business productivity spurred at a 1.8 percent annual rate in the first quarter, improving on two quarters of declines. In addition, labor costs dropped sharply. But analysts were divided on whether the improvement signaled a long-sought increase in the efficiency of American industry."

The House voted \$5 billion to bail out the F.S.L.I.C., but many analysts and people in the thrift industry say that is not nearly enough to help the hundreds of savings and loan institutions that are insolvent or nearly so.

The House rejected an amendment that would have provided \$15 billion. The Senate has approved \$7.5 billion in aid, so a compromise must be worked out.

Western Union will merge with ITT World International, ITT's telex unit, in a \$370 million deal that bails out debt-laden Western Union. Bennett S. LeBow, the New York investor, would gain control of the company after the merger. The deal will create a more efficient worldwide telex operation. The Senate approved a \$1 trillion



Nicolas Ascu

budget that would allow less growth for military spending but would raise taxes by \$18 billion. The House also passed a budget with \$18 billion in tax increases, most probably on such items as alcohol, cigarettes, gasoline and utilities.

Asher B. Edelman's bid for Burlington was increased to \$87 a share in a tender offer, or about \$2 billion, from \$60 a share. The financing for the bid, made in conjunction with Dominion Textiles of Canada, would come from First National Bank of Chicago, Shearson Lehman and the Royal Bank of Canada. Burlington is not happy about the bid, however, and said it may try to seek to buy Dominion as a defensive measure.

JMB Realty agreed to buy Cadillac Fairview, the big Canadian real estate company, for about \$2 billion. The Brontman family, which controls Cadillac Fairview, had put its stake up for sale last year. The bid bested one from Gerald Hines Interests.

Three Canadian gold producers plan to merge to create the largest gold mining company in North America. The stock swap involves Dome Mines, Campbell Red Lake Mines and Placer Development.

Merrill Lynch replaced its director of securities trading as part of a continuing shake-up in the wake of huge trading losses. The firm also has asked for an outside review of its trading practices.

Robert Holmes & Court is reported to be buying up Texaco shares, and that has buoyed the energy giant's stock. The Australian financier apparently is betting that Texaco is a good investment despite its Chapter 11 filing and its troubles with Pennzoil.

Merrell Dow bid \$840 million for seven of A.H. Robins's consumer brands, including Dimetapp, Robitussin and Chap Stick. But Robins, which is in Chapter 11 bankruptcy, said it has no plans to sell the brands.

The former president of Beville, Bresler & Schulman, Gilbert C. Schulman, was convicted of tax fraud in the collapse of the New Jersey securities firm. But the jury reached no verdict on securities fraud charges.

Miscellaneous: President Reagan reduced the minimum bid on offshore oil leases in hopes of attracting more investors.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MAY 8, 1987

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
Navistar	20,798,300	8	+ 1
USX	18,714,300	32%	+ 4%
AT&T	18,735,400	24%	+ 1/2
Std Oil	14,700,800	73%	+ 1/2
Texaco	12,318,000	35%	+ 1
IBM	9,625,000	163%	+ 4%
AELPw	8,976,300	27	- 1/4
Chrys	8,447,500	40%	+ 1%
Phil Pet	8,430,200	17	+ 2%
Burl Ind	7,882,100	64%	+ 5%
Beth St	7,375,400	16	+ 2 1/2
G Mot	6,531,900	89%	- 3/4
Ford M	6,513,800	100	+ 2
S Fe So P	6,480,200	45%	+ 4%
LTV	6,311,500	4%	+ 3/4

MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	1,181	1,101
Declines	776	860
Total Issues	2,180	2,157
New Highs	198	85
New Lows	75	132

VOLUME

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	906,617,310	16,488,943,208
Same Per. 1986	626,960,940	13,133,094,263

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

	High	Low	Last	Net Chg
New York Stock Exchange	203.9	196.5	201.9	+4.08
Indust	144.9	136.0	143.6	+7.24
Utilities	73.5	71.9	72.6	+0.46
Finance	150.6	147.2	147.8	+0.01
Composite	167.0	161.8	165.4	+2.85

Standard & Poor's

400 Indust	344.7	332.3	341.1	+ 8.85
20 Transp	238.5	220.9	234.6	+13.11
40 Utils	111.8	108.7	109.7	+ 0.91
40 Financial	28.8	27.9	28.0	- .05
500 Stocks	296.8	286.3	293.3	+ 5.34

Dow Jones

30 Indust	2369.8	2255.2	2322.3	+41.90
20 Transp	973.5	907.9	957.3	+40.53
15 Utils	808.6	800.2	805.4	+ 3.39
65 Comb	884.8	838.7	868.8	+21.32

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MAY 8, 1987

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
Wang B	4,221,200	18%	+ 1
DomeP	3,346,400	1%	+ 1-16
Wickes	2,891,900	3%	...
Tex Air	1,769,100	40%	+ 4%
WDGt	1,512,900	30%	+ 1%
BAT	1,280,500	8%	+ 1%
LorTel	1,261,500	15%	+ 1%
Amdehl	1,160,900	40%	+ 1%
Echo Bay	1,041,600	41%	+ 1%
Heatr	994,000	23%	+ 3/4

MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	407	374
Declines	370	432
Unchanged	163	138
Total Issues	940	942
New Highs	57	39
New Lows	57	76

VOLUME

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	54,353,755	1,306,410,805
Same Per. 1986	58,705,675	1,208,019,184

Where are they now?



Are you one of these immigrants (pictured above and below) arriving in Haifa in August 1947 from a British detention camp in Cyprus? If so, please contact Sam Rothberg (in picture above) who welcomed the new arrivals as part of one of the first UJA missions to this country. Write to Sam Rothberg, c/o The Jerusalem Post, Romema, Jerusalem, P.O. Box 81.



RANDOMALIA Miriam Arad

Have you noticed?

HAVE YOU noticed:

- That there are more and more technical hitches on *Mabat*, leaving announcers staring vacantly over your left shoulder till the screen blanks out;
- That, on the other hand, there are fewer and fewer hitches on Jordan TV, and they even manage, quite often, to finish their 8 o'clock newscast almost on time;
- That though we sometimes get summer in the middle of winter - what else would you call 28° on February 1 in Tel Aviv - we never get winter in the middle of summer;
- That we hear and see much less of Ze'evulun Hammer as minister of religious affairs than of his predecessor, Dr. Burg;
- And nothing at all any more of Rabbi Peretz and we don't even miss him;
- That every third car on our roads is a Subaru;
- That policemen in other countries seem to be much more brutal than ours, since when we have a demonstration here, you nearly always see policemen arguing with demonstrators - in other countries they hit them over the head with clubs;
- That once upon a time there used to be letters, parcels, pens, key-rings, bubblegum balls here that would explode in your hands when you picked them up, and they are no more;
- And that though the two super-powers keep amassing nuclear weapons, somehow we don't expect to be blown up in our beds any day the way we did in the 50's and 60's, and not a few of us even expect to live to the year 2000;
- And that the year 2000 is less than 13 years off, and won't it almost be a pleasure to make out a cheque then;
- That though the media are supposed to be all-powerful, they can denounce some outrage, from the miserable state of our old folks' homes to a minister's extravagant lifestyle abroad, and no one will give a hoot or lift a finger to change things;
- That while you could rattle off a list of a dozen illustrious 19th-century painters and composers without even needing to think, you would have a hard time naming just three illustrious contemporary painters and composers;
- That, perhaps merely due to the mysterious ebb and flow of ultra-religious fervor, there haven't been any burnt bus shelters lately, stoned cars travelling on the Sabbath, or rumpuses at archeological digs;
- And have you also noticed that though things only seem to get worse and worse, once in a while, here and there - may the devil not hear me - they get ever so slightly better?

Golden Miler Scott

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. - American star Steve Scott won the Hapoel Games' inaugural "Golden Mile," yesterday evening covering two laps round Kikar Hamedina here in 4 minutes, 01.1 seconds. The 31-year-old Californian - the third fastest miler in the world on the track - went into the lead 400 yards from home, to finish a bare second ahead of runner-up Dieter Bauman of West Germany among the 13 starters.

This was the second Games gold for the friendly Californian, following his triumph in the 1,500 metres. He won the silver medal in this race at the Helsinki world athletic championships, and holds several U.S. records over distances from one mile to 3,000 metres. Scott, who will be one of America's three milers in the Rome world championships in August, said he regarded the Tel Aviv race as "a useful warmup" for Italy.



FIRST AROUND THE SQUARE. - Mike Scott crosses the finish line of the Golden Mile in Tel Aviv's Kikar Hamedina. (Hanoth Guthmann)

His best time for a road mile is 3.49. Scott described Kikar Hamedina as a "natural" for the mile. "It is a really good flat track and the two loops made it much better than a straight mile, with spectators able to see the whole race."

(In fact, no more than 1,000 people turned out yesterday for an event which caused inevitable traffic snarls

because police closed the square for the meet.)

Hapoel's David Selti said last night that it is planned to make the "Golden Mile" an annual event. It is the second time the race has been held in Israel. Belgium's Ignat Delegrande, 28, won the race for women and girls in a time of 4:58.01. Seventeen-year-old Eytan Nachson of Hapoel Be'er Sheva won the boys' under-19 event, finishing in 4:38.9.

Swimmers send records tumbling

By ORI LEWIS

TEL AVIV. - Four all-comers records and an Israeli national mark gave the Hapoel Games swimming competition a tremendous boost yesterday, extricating it from the mediocrity which had characterized the event so far.

Exciting performances by Israel's Eyal Stigman and a host of foreign swimmers brought the scene at the Tel Aviv University pool to life on the fourth and final day of competition.

Stigman's fine performance came in the 200 metre breaststroke where he took the bronze medal on the strength of a new Israeli record of

2:22.92. The previous Israeli record, also set by Stigman, was 2:23.21.

Cameron Grant of Canada took the gold medal with a new Israeli all-comers record of 2:20.88, while British star Adrian Moorhouse placed second, also breaking the previous all-comers mark.

Stephen Poulter of Britain won the men's 200m butterfly in 2:07.45 with Brad Creelman of Canada taking the silver medal. Canadian Finlay Duncanson took the men's 400m freestyle in 4:02.29 and the Canadian men's team won the 4 x 100m freestyle relay ahead of the West Germans.

Romania's Luminita Dobrescu made a clean sweep of the women's short distance freestyle races where she won the 50m event in 26.62 seconds, one of three all-comers and

Hapoel Games records set yesterday in the women's events.

Andrea Szegarto, also of Romania, won the 200m backstroke in 2:17.79, and Canadian Caroline Teskey won the 400m individual medley in 4:56.93, both times going into the record books.

The four days of competition were very well organized, with the officials going about their duties with great efficiency.

BASKETBALL RESULTS

Canada won the Hapoel Games gold by beating West Germany 104-89. Poland took third with a 106-89 victory over Israel.

Romanian mastery

By FAITH SPECTOR

The Romanian women's team demonstrated complete mastery in the Open gymnastics competition. Romania scored 116.25, Israel was second with 110.55, the national team of France was third with 110.55, followed by a French Universities' team with 110.02.

In the individual scoring, Rus Lenata (39.05) was the top scorer, second was Dana Domitro (39.00) and third was Madeline Tanase (38.25). The fourth member of the Romanian team, Laura Cotina, had to withdraw from the competition because of an ankle injury suffered when she fell during her exercise on the uneven bars. Israel's Revital Sharon (37.05) was fourth.

The Romanian gymnasts are distinguished by their diminutive size and their over-all high scores. They compete with complete concentra-

tion, grace and skill.

Their size belies their ages which range from 18 to 20. Laura Cotina took part in the last Olympic Games and won the gold medal at Los Angeles. She has twice come second in the World Championships and will take part in next year's Olympics. The team competed in the Universal Competition in Kobe, Japan and took second place with Russia in the first place.

The Rhythmic Gymnastics competition was won by West Germany with a score of 19.78. Because they are much higher grade performers the Romanians restricted themselves to the Open competition. The following were the results of the second phase of competition:

MEN'S OPEN: 1. Ya'acov Levy (Israel) 54.6; 2. Thomas (Switzerland) 52.3; 3. Ovi Perot (Israel) 51.95.

MEN'S TEAM EVENT: 1. Israel 255.68; 2. Belgium 243.45; 3. Switzerland 248.10.

WOMEN'S OPEN: 1. Revital Sharon (Israel) 36.7; 2. Oshrit Zeligman (Israel) 35.5; 3. Madeline Tanase (France) 35.2.

WOMEN'S TEAM EVENT: 1. Israel 2; France 3; Switzerland.



BALANCED. - Hapoel Tel Aviv's Revital Sharon on her way to a gold medal in the women's open final. (Brian Hendler)

TENNIS Gomez's bag of tricks beats Becker

NEW YORK (AP). - Ecuador's Andres Gomez, playing a classic clay-court game, stunned top-seeded Boris Becker 4-6, 6-4, 6-3 on Saturday to join Yannick Noah of France in the final of the \$615,000 Tournament of Champions.

Noah, the defending champion who was seeded second in this 64-player Grand Prix event, earlier in the day eliminated No. 12 Slobodan Zivojinovic of Yugoslavia 6-3, 7-5.

Gomez utilized all of his clay-court tricks against Becker, the two-time Wimbledon champion who has never won on the slow surface. The South American's drop and chip shots brought Becker to the net. Then, with the West German

teen-ager camped there, Gomez lunged the range with perfect jobs that touched just inside the baseline.

In Rome, West German Steffi Graf won her fifth tournament this year by beating Gabriela Sabatini of Argentina 7-5, 4-6, 6-0 in the final of the Italian Open.

NHL PLAYOFFS

DETROIT (AP). - Marty McSorley's goal with 36 seconds to play on Saturday night gave the Edmonton Oilers a 2-1 victory over the Detroit Red Wings in game 3 of their NHL semifinal series.

The win gives the Oilers a 2-1 lead in the best-of-seven Campbell Conference finals. Game 4 is scheduled for tonight.

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NBA PLAYOFFS

SEATTLE (AP). - Seattle's Tom Chambers scored a playoff career-high 38 points and Dale Ellis added 32 on Saturday to lead the SuperSonics to a 117-102 victory over Houston and a 3-1 lead in their NBA second-round series.

In Oakland, California, James Worthy scored 28 points as the Los Angeles Lakers raced to an early lead and outclassed the Golden State Warriors 133-108 to take a 3-0 lead in their second-round series.

BASEBALL

SATURDAY'S RESULTS

American League	
Royals	4
Angels	8
Mariners	8
Orioles	15
Twins	2
Athletics	8
Blue Jays	15
National League	
Phillies	4
Expos	3
Braves	5
Cubs	5
Dodgers	4
Giants	9
Red Sox	6
Brewers	2
White Sox	6
Yankees	6
Tigers	7
Rangers	7
Reds	2
Astros	1
Mets	4
Padres	2
Cardinals	2
Pirates	4

ATTENTION EX-SOUTH AFRICANS

Aubrey Ritz and Chaim Stein of THE BENONI BOARD advise that their property and investment manager, Mr. Cyril Beriman, will be at the Basel Hotel, Tel Aviv May 13-20, 1987, Telephone: 03-244161 for consultation on financial investment and property matters in South Africa that may require sale, letting or administration. P.O. Box 3888, Jerusalem 91037.

Formidable friendlies

Post Sports Staff

"Football is not a life and death issue. It's much more serious than that," the great Liverpool boss Bill Shankly used to say.

For the formidable Shankly there was no such thing as a friendly football game, provided it was played in the right spirit. Graeme Souness and Kenny Dalglish, player-managers with Glasgow Rangers and Liverpool, are cast in the same mould.

Past friendly visits here by top international opposition have often been a disappointment, as the visiting players indulged in sunshine and a good time and performed only half-heartedly on the pitch.

But anything less than total commitment from Rangers and Liverpool is a contradiction in terms. An exciting double header is therefore in store this afternoon for soccer fans as icing on the top of the Hapoel Games cake when Rangers play the Israel Olympic XI and then Liverpool play the full National side at the National Stadium in Ramat Gan.

"There is nothing in my vocabulary to suggest that I go into any football game with the intention of not winning it," said Souness prior to

arrival last night. He was also reportedly to be genially miffed at the fact that his squad was billed only for the curtain raiser. "You'll see that we can provide better fare even than Liverpool," he maintained.

Certainly Rangers with the Scottish championship under their belts, have had a season to look back on, while Liverpool had the most unexpected of seasons with not even one of the three major English trophies to store in the Anfield cupboard for the first time in almost a decade.

That suggests that they will be even more committed than ever, eager to demonstrate that Liverpool of the future are every bit as attractive as Liverpool of the past.

Nor, stressed Israeli national coach Mikiel Mikiel, should fans forget that Israel has plenty to offer. Certainly after the new-look top squad did so well recently in Romania it will be most intriguing to see if they can maintain that high standard.

The afternoon and evening entertainment will be rounded off by the ceremonial aspects: Hapoel is awarding a special trophy to recently-crowned league champions Betar Jerusalem, and Urie Maimon will be named a most worthy footballer of the year. And then there will be a rather poignant moment as the great "goal sniffer" Ian Rush dons a Liverpool jersey for possibly the last time in his illustrious career. He moves off to Juventus next season.

Israel's line-up will be as follows: Avi Raan, Avi Cohen, Avi Cohen, Ephraim Sidmonov, Nir Kliger, Avimeas Ovadia, Moshe Sinal, Ephraim David, Urie Maimon, Daniel Brailovsky, Eli Ohana.

Rangers and the Olympic squad kick off at 16.30, Liverpool and the National team at 18.30.

Eli swaps Betar for Belgium

Post Sports Staff

Eli Ohana is leaving Betar Jerusalem after being snapped up by Malin, one of Belgium's top clubs. The live-wire National team striker has signed a two-year contract with the club, who currently lie second in their national league.

The fee was not announced publicly but is believed to be in the region of \$275,000, with Ohana earning \$80,000 a season.

Reuven Rivlin, the unofficial king of the Betar Jerusalem sports organization, indicated that money was indeed a key factor. "We did not want to stand in Eli's way to get ahead with his career. But also Betar could not afford to keep two superstars, Urie (Maimon) and Eli."

Perhaps it's only in Israel that a club as successful as Betar have been this season can disintegrate - at least in terms of their key personalities - so speedily. First coach Dror Kashtan left to join Maccabi Haifa, then chairman Ronnie Bar-On quit under pressure over the weekend, and now one of their top men on the pitch will also be leaving. Who else, one wonders?

It's true that Ohana has long nurtured the hope of playing football in Europe. Although they kept him back last season, Betar were no longer willing to stand in the way of his ambition. The money was right and clearly they had little alternative.

Still, he will be leaving on extremely good terms, and not just financially. Everyone connected with the club anticipates that it will be on a very high note, with the capture not only of the league but also of the Cup. Ohana will play out the rest of the season with Betar including the June 26th semi-final against Maccabi Tel Aviv. If they get through, the other finalists will be either Maccabi Haifa or Betar Tel Aviv.

Tariguchi wins London Marathon

LONDON (AFP). - Hiromi Taniguchi of Japan won the London Marathon yesterday in a personal best time of 2 hours, 9 minutes and 5 seconds.

Ingrid Kristiansen, the outstanding favourite from Norway, won the women's race in 2:22:48, almost two minutes outside her world record, but a time which only Olympic champion Joan Samuelson, beside herself, has beaten.

Two Israelis distinguished themselves in the marathon. Zehava Shmueli, 32, took 17th place among the women competitors with a time of 2:40.37, just eight seconds outside her own Israeli women's record. Shlomo Pinchas, 23, finished in a personal best of 2:22.46 (an improvement of seven minutes on his previous fastest marathon), to take 68th place among the record 22,000 starters.

Davis Cup delay

Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. - The International Tennis Federation has again acceded to the All India Lawn Tennis Association's request to put off a decision regarding the venue of Israel's World Group Davis Cup quarter-final home tie against India, scheduled for July 24 to 26.

The new deferment is until May 15, Israel Tennis Association chairman David Harnik told *The Jerusalem Post*.

SCOREBOARD

FRENCH LEAGUE SOCCER. - Marseille and Bordeaux maintained the pressure on each other at the top of the French First Division when both won tight clashes.

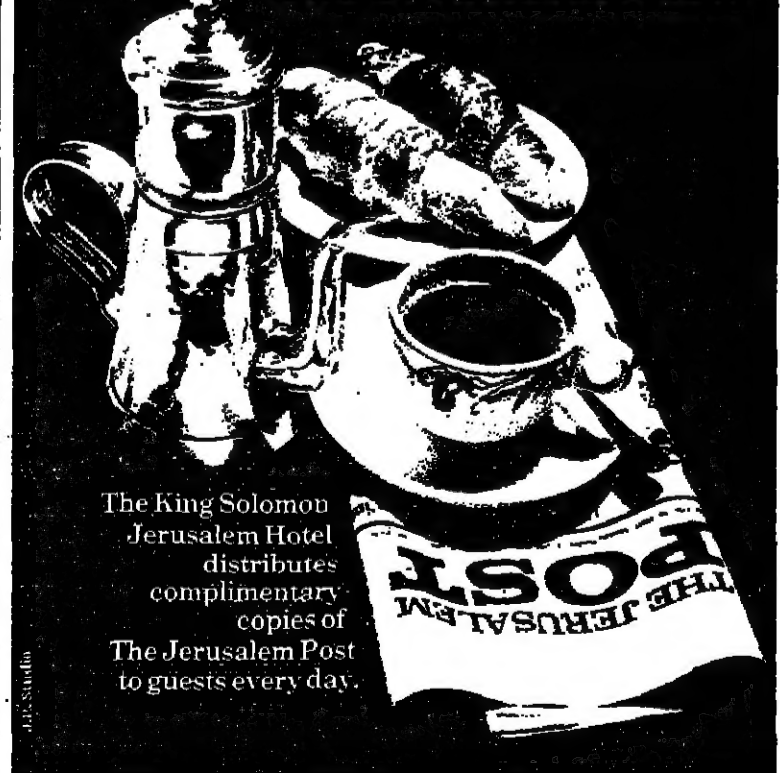
Marseille maintained their one-point lead, with four starters remaining, when they overcame struggling Nancy 3-2 at home.

Bordeaux, holding for their third league title in four years, accomplished the tougher task of taking both points at mid-table Lens with a 2-1 victory.

SPANISH SOCCER. - Results in the First Division play-off series: Barcelona 2, Sporting Gijon 0; Las Palmas 1, Sabadell 1; (re-matching matches to be played on Sunday).

Morning at the King Solomon Jerusalem.

Food for thought with The Jerusalem Post.



The King Solomon Jerusalem Hotel distributes complimentary copies of The Jerusalem Post to guests every day.

THE ISRAEL MOVEMENT FOR PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM

The Judaism, Democracy and Zionism Centre
The public is invited to study days organized by the Movement for Progressive Judaism on:

The Status of Women in Judaism and in Israel

Participants:
Prof. Yeshayahu Leibovitz, Prof. Ariel Rosen-Zvi, Prof. Alice Shalvi, rabbis, rabbis' wives, and members of the Movement for Progressive Judaism.

To take place at Beit Shmuel, 13 Rehov Hamelech David, Jerusalem, during the weekend of May 22, 23 (23, 24 Iyar 5747). Number of places limited.

Details and registration: Esti, Tel. 02-203349, 02-203348.

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TWA

MARKET PLACE

PINHAS LANDAU

Risk insurance

Bank Leumi yesterday pushed Israeli finance another important step toward modernity by introducing the first option contract offering protection against a possible devaluation, and available for general use.

What is that? Essentially, the bank is saying to its customers the following simple thing: If you are unsure about whether there will be a devaluation between now and the end of November this year (six-and-a-half months away, an incredibly long time by the Israeli, or indeed any other currency's, standards) you can "lock yourself in" now by buying a contract from the bank promising you the dollar/shkel rate of May 6.

That means that at any time between now and November 30, you can make a deposit in a dollar-linked savings scheme and have as your base rate for linkage the dollar/shkel rate of May 6. In practice, therefore, you don't need to make any deposit until the end of November, and in the meantime you can hold your money in shekels and earn, say, 1.5 per cent per month for the next six to seven months, i.e., about 10 per cent.

Then, if there has been a devaluation in the interim, you will still get the May 6 rate of about 1.585 and have the interest accumulated in the intervening period; if there hasn't been a devaluation, you can decide whether you want to make the deposit, and if you do you will still get the May 6 rate.

Obviously, this option costs money, but not too much. Leumi is making it available for sums from NIS 3,500 to 250,000, and will charge 2 per cent of the amount for Leumi customers and 3 per cent for non-Leumi customers.

Now, let's see who wins and who loses. First, what's in it for them. The bank is starting from two premises: That the dollar/shkel rate is unlikely to change in the set period, or at least not by much, and that in fact the dollar may continue to fall against the shekel as it has recently, because its international value will carry on eroding. In either case, Leumi pockets the price of the option, which is the insurance premium that the purchaser pays.

In addition, the bank figures to profit by enticing money out of places where it currently earns little for its owners and generates no revenue for the bank. For example, there is still a cool \$2 billion worth of money tied up in *pulm* accounts. There is still plenty of dough under the tiles, and there is the pile of money tied up in bank shares, which are dollar-linked. Getting this to move into vehicles in which both the bank and the customer benefit, such as shekel deposits and mutual funds, is the main objective of this exercise for Leumi.

If, despite expectations, there is a devaluation, Leumi claims its internal calculations show that it can still come out even, or ahead, because of the extra revenues it will generate. For the customer, the potential profit is as outlined above. He can use his funds as he pleases until November 30, which should get him at least 10 per cent, while paying 2-3 per cent as the price of neutralizing his devaluation risk. Of course, if he feels that risk is negligible, he needn't buy the contract and can ignore the whole thing.

No far so good - now for the problems.

It is only available for would-be depositors in dollar-linked savings schemes. (The Treasury, by the way, gave the option its blessing, making it a tax-free saving instrument like a regular savings scheme.) That is not to say that the option purchaser must make a deposit, only that that is the only avenue open to him to cover himself against a devaluation.

Secondly, it is not negotiable. The back of a secondary market in this instrument means that the premium, arbitrarily fixed by Leumi, cannot be tested in the marketplace, nor can it change in line with expectations.

But there are quibbles that distort the main message: However slowly and belatedly, the authorities are now willing, and the commercial banks now able, to develop risk instruments that will help the Israeli consumer and businessman to contend with uncertainty in the market.

Nissim won't clamp down on imports

Trade gap widens by 79%

By AVI TEMKIN

The Treasury has no plans to introduce measures aimed at curbing Israel's ballooning imports, Finance Minister Moshe Nissim said yesterday, responding to the Central Bureau of Statistics figures released hours earlier showing a sharp widening in Israel's trade deficit.

The foreign trade figures released by the bureau showed that the gap between imports and exports of goods came to \$1.045 billion in the January-April period, 79 per cent wider than the \$585 million for the same period last year. Imports totaled over \$3.5 b. in the first third of the year, an increase of 23 per cent, while exports rose 13.6 per cent to \$2.5 b. The increase in exports, however, could not offset the rise in imports.

For April alone, the trade deficit came to \$243.5m., sharp drop from the previous month's \$319.6m. But the monthly average for March-April came to \$357m., 53 per cent

wider than the average for January-February. April net imports came to \$845m., while imports, which were reported at the end of last week, came to \$601.5m.

The bureau's spokesman said exports during the last two months dropped 2.5 per cent from their average level for January and February. However, the monthly average for industrial exports during the first third of the year totalled \$418m., and increase of 10 per cent from the last three months of 1986, he added. But the figures also showed that some of the key sectors in the Israeli industry were still facing hardships. Sales of metal, machinery and electronic goods, including high technology and military equipment, totalled \$610m. in the first four months of the year, down 11 per cent from the same period in 1986.

Nissim, returning yesterday from a three-week tour to South America said the key to closing the trade gap was to encourage exports. "Import-

curbing steps would hamper economic stability," he said.

Bank of Israel officials noted yesterday that the wider trade deficit reflected higher imports of investment goods and raw materials. But the officials said part of the increase was only nominal, since the deficit is measured in dollars, and the U.S. currency has been weakening steadily during the past year.

The central bank officials said, however, that as long as the foreign currency reserves continued growing, and the overall balance of payments situation remained favorable, there was no reason for alarm.

In a separate but related development, the Bank of Israel yesterday released figures showing that during the first three months of the year the public sold to the government some \$450m. This development has been behind the large increase in foreign currency reserves, which reached a record level, \$4.4b., at the end of last month.

IBM reports superconductor breakthrough

NEW YORK (AFP). - Researchers at International Business Machines have earlier this morning officially reported the discovery of a process for making superconductors carry 100 times more current.

The discovery, the company said, eliminates a major technical obstacle to much wider use of new superconducting materials. It also allows the use of new materials for greatly improved computer chips.

Although there have been recent breakthroughs in raising superconductors' critical temperature, little progress has been made until now in improving their ability to carry current. Superconductors are materials which lose all resistance to electricity below a certain temperature.

IBM Vice President Praveen Chaudhri, describing the new development as "very exciting," said it was achieved by laying a thin film of ordinary superconducting material in the form of a single crystal onto the surface of another crystal.

Shares fall for sixth straight day

By PINHAS LANDAU

Stocks continued their steep slide yesterday on Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, but analysts said the market was oversold and would stabilize within a day or two.

Turnovers swelled yesterday to NIS 27.1 million in the "free" or non-arrangement bank market, and 277 issues fell in price, with 107 of these losing more than 5 per cent and 13 being marked sellers only. This compares with Thursday's session, in which NIS 18.1m. changed hands as 290 issues fell.

The most outstanding difference between yesterday and the three trading days last week, was that the mutual funds suffered quite heavy redemptions - estimated at \$25 million-30 m. overall. This forced the funds to liquidate investments, and they chose to offer bank shares covered by the "arrangement" in the market, apparently confident that the Bank of Israel would soak up the offers.

However, the central bank only stepped in after prices had fallen by unusually large margins of 3-6 per cent in the normally stable bank shares. Turnover in this sector was NIS 26.5m. - several times the amount traded on a regular day.

In the free share market, the funds bought offers as prices continued their retreat. Overall, the absorption of the selling was considered better than on Thursday, and the atmosphere among traders was less grim than last week, despite the sharpness of the falls.

In fact, the morning session, in which the experimental system of two-sided trading is taking place for 22 leading shares, saw heavier selling and less willingness to buy, while the multi-sided afternoon session witnessed a less-depressed tone.

Outside the exchange, institutional investors and portfolio managers told *The Jerusalem Post* that they viewed the market's current correction, which has now extended over six straight sessions, as having substantially run its course.

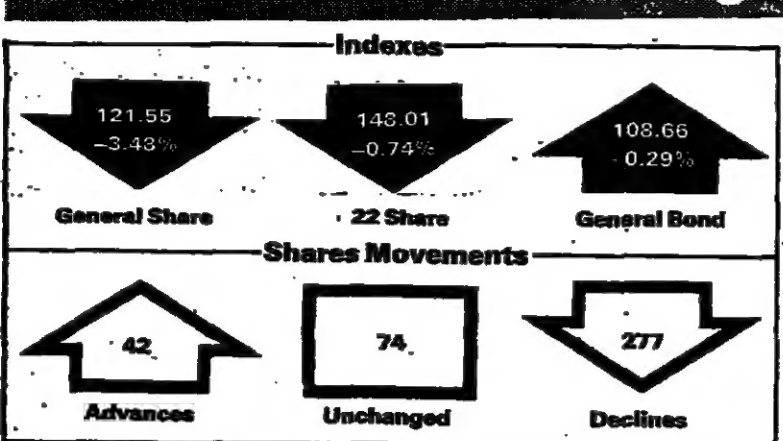
"The selling is tailing off, and I think we'll see an improvement tomorrow, although the mutual funds will probably have to face another wave of redemptions," said one experienced market participant yesterday.

Another was even more confident, and altogether pleased about the market's recent shake out. "The market has behaved beautifully. It was much too high, having risen non-stop since the beginning of the year and soared by 75 per cent.

"There are many shares that are now at prices that justify buying them, although there are of course still plenty that are grossly overpriced," he said, "but that's unavoidable, since the market still has this tendency to rise and fall as a block."

The political crisis, or the threat of one, was just an excuse this manager said, noting that "there have been many crises between Labour and the Likud in the last two years, and each time the market has taken them more or less in its stride."

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange



Name	Price	Over/Under	% change
Delta Gail	4815	828	-10.1
Magnum 1	571	523	-8.2
Eagle 1	590	234	-2.3
Polgar	7700	544	-10.3
Scholarline	2580	655	-5.5
Regan	4875	222	-5.1
La. Co. Co. 1	3200	742	-5.1
Zion Cable	2200	187	-5.1
Polar Seal	53000	100	-5.1
Elron	40500	83	-4.7
Art	28550	137	-2.4
Clai Electronics	3078	8138	-2.8
Adventures 1	1510	3483	-2.2
Adventures 2	1835	1815	-0.8
Adventures 3	362	2010	+10.0
Adventures 4	3280	10	-4.0
Adventures 5	4880	210	-4.0
Adventures 6	886	1338	-4.0
Adventures 7	2720	2820	-4.0
Adventures 8	747	40548	-4.0
Adventures 9	38400	289	-4.4
Adventures 10	43500	254	-4.4
Adventures 11	235	31805	-2.3

Name	Price	Over/Under	% change
Delta Gail	4815	828	-10.1
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Eagle 1	590	234	-2.3
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Adventures 5	4880	210	-4.0
Adventures 6	886	1338	-4.0
Adventures 7	2720	2820	-4.0
Adventures 8	747	40548	-4.0
Adventures 9	38400	289	-4.4
Adventures 10	43500	254	-4.4
Adventures 11	235	31805	-2.3

Name	Price	Over/Under	% change
Delta Gail	4815	828	-10.1
Magnum 1	571	523	-8.2
Eagle 1	590	234	-2.3
Polgar	7700	544	-10.3
Scholarline	2580	655	-5.5
Regan	4875	222	-5.1
La. Co. Co. 1	3200	742	-5.1
Zion Cable	2200	187	-5.1
Polar Seal	53000	100	-5.1
Elron	40500	83	-4.7
Art	28550	137	-2.4
Clai Electronics	3078	8138	-2.8
Adventures 1	1510	3483	-2.2
Adventures 2	1835	1815	-0.8
Adventures 3	362	2010	+10.0
Adventures 4	3280	10	-4.0
Adventures 5	4880	210	-4.0
Adventures 6	886	1338	-4.0
Adventures 7	2720	2820	-4.0
Adventures 8	747	40548	-4.0
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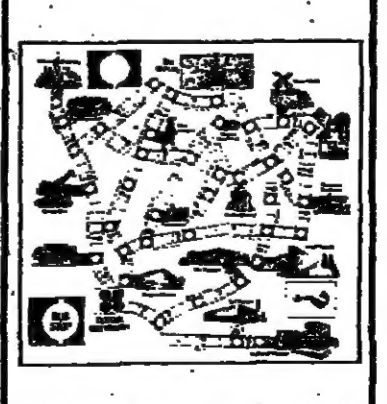
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Bank	Deposit	Term	7 days	14 days	30 days
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Bank Leumi	1,000-9,999	15.25	15.25	15.25	15.25
Bank Leumi	10,000-49,999	15.25	15.25	15.25	15.25
Bank Leumi	50,000+	15.25	15.25	15.25	15.25
Hapoalim (Apr. 28)	Up to 999	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00
Hapoalim (Apr. 28)	1,000-9,999	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00
Hapoalim (Apr. 28)	10,000-49,999	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00
Hapoalim (Apr. 28)	50,000+	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00
Discount (Apr. 20)	50-999	8.00	10.00	11.00	12.00
Discount (Apr. 20)	1,000-9,999	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00
Discount (Apr. 20)	10,000-49,999	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00
Discount (Apr. 20)	50,000+	16.00	16.00	16.00	16.00
Mitral	40-1,000	17.50	17.50	18.50	20.00
Mitral	1,001-2,500	17.50	17.50	18.50	20.00
Mitral	2,501-5,000	17.50	17.50	18.50	20.00
Mitral	5,001-9,999	17.50	17.50	18.50	20.00
Mitral	10,001-49,999	17.50	17.50	18.50	20.00
Mitral	50,000+	17.50	17.50	18.50	20.00
First Intl (May 6)	50-999	10.00	12.00	12.00	12.00
First Intl (May 6)	1,000-4,999	15.00	15.00	15.00	15.00
First Intl (May 6)	5,000-9,999	15.00	15.00	15.00	15.00
First Intl (May 6)	10,000-49,999	15.00	15.00	15.00	15.00
First Intl (May 6)	50,000+	15.00	15.00	15.00	15.00

Parish (foreign currency deposit rates, May 6)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	5.500	6.750	7.125
Pound sterling (£100,000)	7.250	7.250	7.250
Deutsche mark (DM 200,000)	2.750	2.875	2.875
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	2.625	2.750	2.875
Yen (\$ million yen)	2.125	2.125	2.125

SOURCE: BANK LEUMI. Rates vary according to size of deposit.

Pound sterling	2.6443	0.8557	0.87	0.87	0.8988	—
French franc	2.5243	0.8557	0.87	0.87	0.8988	—
Japanese yen (100)	1.1337	0.2678	0.26	0.27	0.2654	—
Dutch florin	0.7850	1.1478	1.11	1.11	1.1387	—
Swedish krona	1.0760	1.1084	1.05	1.10	1.0842	—
Norwegian krona	0.2367	0.2561	0.23	0.28	0.2544	—
Denmark krone	0.2354	0.2397	0.24	0.23	0.2397	—
Finland mark	0.3632	0.2383	0.23	0.24	0.2398	—
Canadian dollar	1.1782	0.3677	0.36	0.37	0.3656	—
Australian dollar	1.1220	1.1129	1.20	1.16	1.1890	—
S. African rand	1.1220	1.1359	1.04	1.14	1.1301	—
Belgian franc	0.7850	0.7948	0.51	0.67	0.7896	—
Austrian schilling	0.4233	0.4236	0.43	0.43	0.4293	—
Austrian (100)	1.2283	1.2733	1.23	1.28	1.2658	—
Italian lire (1,000)	1.2245	1.2287	1.18	1.26	1.2326	—
Egyptian pound	—	4.53	—	4.61	4.6391	—
Israeli pound	—	—	—	0.72	0.78	0.8002
ECU	1.1855	1.1813	—	—	—	—
Irish punt	2.3680	2.3654	2.31	2.45	—	—
Spanish peseta (100)	1.2818	1.2775	1.22	1.30	—	—

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The extremes converge

THE WAR against peace is getting a new lease of life. Although they will not admit it, diehards on both the Palestinian and the Israeli side are in effect joining hands.

It was plainly Yasser Arafat's sellout to the "radicals" at the PLO's reunification conference in Algiers two weeks ago that set off the present wave of violent unrest in the West Bank. With lethal petrol bombs hurled at passing Israeli vehicles, the terrorists, celebrating the unilateral annulment of the Amman Agreement, mean to prove that theirs is the way to Palestinian salvation and Israel's defeat.

They also mean to show that the Palestinians in the territories are with them, and not with King Hussein. That the retribution they are courting could be disastrous to their people does not, apparently, disturb the terrorists.

The terrorist initiative has in the meantime been seized with alacrity by the Israeli ultra-nationalist faction in their own bid to scuttle all hope of a negotiated settlement. They rightly view any such settlement as involving the abandonment of Israeli political control over at least a sizeable portion of Judea and Samaria. This they are determined to prevent.

Last week's vigilante orgy of bottle smashing and garbage-bin overturning in Kalkiya, and rioting in Nablus and Hebron, presided over by Gush Emunim's secretary-general Daniella Weiss, was on the face of it a cry of outrage over insufficient safety for Jewish settlers across the Green Line. In fact it was a statement about the political future of the territories.

Its purpose was to coerce the military authorities, from Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin down, into putting the screws on the local Arab population so painfully that they would either meekly subject themselves to Israel's rule forever — or get out. If such action helped mainly to rouse the Arabs into backing the terrorists more than before, so much the better, it would seem: for it would then trigger the inevitable Israeli counter-strike that would finally put paid to all defeatist talk about a negotiated compromise with the Arabs.

This argument, which turns the original case for settlement in the West Bank on its head, is an implicit admission that the supposed Israeli defence outposts in the territories are not really of much value as deterrents or safeguards against terrorism. That they may, in fact, only encourage Arab violence.

Historically, to be sure, Palestinian terrorism has aimed at barring any Jewish presence in any part of Eretz Yisrael. That remains the PLO's underlying purpose, as indicated by the attempted infiltration of a Fatah murder squad into Galilee last week, and by yesterday's terror attempt in Kfar Sava — this side of the Green Line and only a few miles away from Alfei Menashe, home of terror victim Ofra Moses.

But the question whether Alfei Menashe, like Ariel, for example, is a vital security asset to Israel, and not just to itself, remains open, as Mr. Rabin has pointed out. And the question whether it, like Ariel, will or will not come under Israeli formal suzerainty, can only be resolved in peace negotiations.

That, however, is precisely what the diehards on both sides would like to make impossible.

The students' just cause

THE cabinet has been awaiting the return of Finance Minister Moshe Nissim to come to grips with the question of university tuition fees. The students, with little leverage, adopted the rather desperate device of a strike, which disturbs no one but themselves.

As usual, the conflict is not simply over money, but also confidence. The government has dragged its feet for so long, that the students, as a matter of self-respect, felt compelled to react.

But the students' lack of confidence in the authorities and the universities goes further. This year the students are paying about \$1300 for tuition, of which almost half is not called tuition, but "tax," for it goes to the government. That itself represented a steep rise over last year.

Now the Treasury wants to raise the fees to \$1600. Education Minister Yitzhak Navon proposes \$1100.

When the students protest, the officials claim that those with financial difficulties will be compensated with stipends.

Here communication breaks down. The students have no confidence in the stipend system as it exists, often rewarding those who in fact could pay their own way, including students from abroad. They are loath to be dependent on it even more.

When they look at themselves they see young men and women all of whom have spent years in the army — young officers having 4, 5 and 6 years of service — who are called for long stints of reserve duty even during the academic year, and who are generally anxious to get their degrees in minimum time and not be forced to prolong study because of work.

If their families cannot afford to subsidize them, if they are kibbutz leavers, if they cannot reside at home, simple subsistence requires them to divert much of their study time to work.

Thus hard as it may be for the expense-account bureaucrats to understand, for many many students every dollar or shekel of added fees counts.

What is totally grotesque is for Treasury officials and ministers who side with them to compare Israel's low tuition rates to those in the U.S. For the U.S. offers such a wide range of educational avenues, for princes to paupers, that any comparison with Israel's limited and inflexible university system merely betrays ignorance.

In any case, if foreign comparisons are to be made, they could just as easily lead to Europe where in so many countries higher education is free.

If tuition fees are to be raised, this should be done only in the context of a credible and significant loan and stipend system truly designed for need. It should also be weighted to help those who have spent the most years in army service and who, despite study, work and fees, still serve more than any other sector of the population.

THE WAY the two major political parties in Israel view the idea of an international conference is a manifestation of different perceptions regarding the nature of international relations in general and the Arab-Israeli conflict in particular. Moreover there are also real and legitimate differences in how the two perceive the shape of the desired peace and the policy which ought to be followed to attain it.

But the way the two have publicly dealt with the issue has been very similar. Each has tried to demonstrate that the other party's leaders are using the international conference to further other goals — the Labour Party leaders in order to bring about early elections, the various Herut leaders in order to gain support for themselves within their own bloc and greater popularity on patriotic grounds in the country at large.

The Alignment accuses the Likud of obstructing the peace process — the Likud accuses the Alignment of leading Israel straight into the crocodiles' open jaws. As a result, most of the public do not understand what the real issue is, and are incapable of holding a coherent debate on the international conference.

The Herut leaders view international relations in static terms. Most of the *goyim* are incurable anti-Semites who do not care whether Israel does or does not continue to exist as a Jewish state, and therefore all their criticism and proposals are insincere. A small minority are friends who accept anything Israel does. This being the reality there is nothing Israel can do to influence the policies of anyone except its friends, and it is a waste of time to try. Consequently Israel ought to simply define its core interests and pursue them as if it were operating in a void. These interests include Israel's holding on to Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip no matter what.

The Arab-Israeli conflict is viewed in the same terms. It is an insoluble conflict based on Arab hostility and totally unaffected by Israeli acts or declarations. Most of Herut's current leaders objected to the Camp

The International Conference:

Trick or treat?

Susan Hattis Rolef

David Accords and the peace treaty with Egypt which they viewed as an illusion — a trick which Sadat used to get Sinai back from Israel. The fact that Mubarak keeps declaring that he will not cancel the two agreements is not the result of his true belief in the peace, but of his desire to please the Americans, on whom he is economically dependent.

Since peace is an illusion, at least in the foreseeable future, making concessions to further the peace process is folly — an act of self-delusion, the only result of which will be to weaken Israel and make it more vulnerable. Talks with Hussein, beyond talks on technicalities regarding the living conditions of the Arabs in the West Bank, are pointless. Therefore an international conference, even one which will act as an umbrella only, is superfluous.

But Herut does not believe that anyone, except Shimon Peres, views the conference as an umbrella only. The international conference is viewed as a forum of mostly hostile forces who will try to impose a settlement on Israel. By accepting the conference Israel will be entering a trap from which there is no way out.

The fact that the 1949 Lausanne Conciliation Conference, in which the Arab delegations appeared uninvited and refused to deal directly with Israel, led to direct talks with Jordan; that the 1973 Geneva peace conference enabled direct talks with Egypt and Syria on disengagement agreements; and that nothing horrible happened to Israel in the process, is conveniently disregarded. Alternatively, the 1949-50 talks with Jordan are presented as a total flop, and the disengagement agreements as the product of nothing beyond Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy.

THE LABOUR Party has a dynamic view of the international system. Though the system is not viewed as friendly, it is not viewed as *a priori* hostile either. There is an attitude of "respect them and suspect them."

The Labour Party does not believe that other states' attitudes and policies towards Israel are solely the function of what Israel does. However, its daily contacts with sister parties in the Socialist International, and its long experience in power both before and after the establishment of the state, have convinced it that even though what matters is "what the Jews do and not what the *goyim* say," there is a certain correlation between what the Jews do and the *goyim* say and do.

In the same vein the Labour Party does not accept the arguments of the extreme left which argues that if only Israel withdrew from all the territories, recognized the PLO as the sole legitimate spokesman of the Palestinians, and granted its Arab citizens true equality, all would be well. It recognizes that there is more to the conflict than Israeli "inflexibility and refusal to compromise." Nevertheless, just as the Labour Party has finally grasped that it lost the 1977 elections because of changes in the Israeli society and as a reaction to its own conduct, so it grasps that changes have taken place in the Arab world and even among the Palestinians, and these could work against Israel or for it.

Not all the changes are positive from Israel's point of view, as for example the spread of Islamic fundamentalism, but some, such as a greater sense of realism in certain parts of the Arab world, are signifi-

cant. Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and the Camp David Accords and peace treaty which followed are viewed within this context. It is not that Sadat suddenly saw the light and accepted the basic justice of Zionism — he just reached the conclusion that he could not defeat the Jewish state and that attempts to do so were too costly and futile.

But even after Sadat came to this realization Israel had to pay a price, a high price, in order to turn the change in approach to a change in the reality. In the same way the Labour Party believes that King Hussein can finally be brought down from the throne on which he has been sitting, and that the least Israel can do is offer the optimal conditions for him to do so — such as an international conference to serve as an umbrella for formal direct talks (informal direct talks have been going on for 17 years).

The Labour Party also realizes that one cannot have peace on the basis of the status quo. What one must do at this stage is investigate just how high a price is demanded. If the price is too high (not in mystical but in concrete security terms) Israel need not buy.

THE LABOUR Party is not afraid of an international conference. On the contrary, it sees it not only as a way of getting formal direct talks with the Jordanians, but as a trump card in efforts to bring about change in the Soviet policy, both towards Israel and the Middle East as well as towards the Jews — those who wish to emigrate and those who wish to stay in the Soviet Union as Jews.

With regards to the Chinese, there too is an opening for change. And what if the Soviet Union and China are invited to the conference without

their first establishing diplomatic relations with Israel, or the PLO is invited despite Israeli stipulations to the contrary? Nobody can force Israel to attend the conference under these circumstances, just as nobody could force Israel to remain in the Lausanne Conference in 1949, or to return to the Geneva Conference after December 1973.

And what if the conference convenes under Israel's conditions, but then proceeds to adopt resolutions which are tantamount to an imposed solution? Does anyone in Israel really believe that someone is willing to take the necessary steps to impose a solution in the Middle East? The UN General Assembly adopted a resolution on November 29, 1947, regarding the partition of Palestine. It had no intention of imposing partition. Israel got its state because it fought for it with the added legitimization of the UN resolution. The UN could not and did not try to impose the plan on the Palestinians who subsequently lost everything.

And what real effect do all the hundreds of anti-Israeli UN resolutions of the last decade have? Have they changed an iota of Israel's policies? Why would an hypothetical resolution of an international conference be any different? And since it could be stipulated that the international conference will only be able to adopt resolutions by a unanimous vote, why does anyone believe that it will be able to take any decisions at all? "Unanimous" means us and the Americans as well.

The worst that can happen, in Labour eyes, is not that the crocodile will close its jaws on Israel, but that the crocodile will either never be born or die prematurely. In that case the only problems Israel might have will be with the society for nature preservation...

Labour argues: Israel has nothing to lose from the convention of an international conference, and everything to gain. The Likud argues: Israel has nothing to gain and everything to lose. Let the voter decide between them.

The writer edits the Labour movement English-language monthly Spectrum.

READERS' LETTERS

ROGUE OPERATION?

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — Despite the public protestations of Prime Minister Shamir, Foreign Minister Peres and Defence Minister Rabin that the Pollard Affair was "a rogue operation," I, as a retired special agent of the United States Army Counter-Intelligence Corps, find it extremely difficult to believe their statements that this was in fact "a rogue operation." Anyone who finds their statements believable also believes in the Tooth Fairy, Santa Claus and the Easter Bunny.

The large expenditure of funds for travel and for "gifts" for the Pollards must have had approval at the highest level in the government.

JULIUS E. BERNSTEIN
Riverside, California.

CAINE GOOD MANNERS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — Three cheers for D'vora Ben Shaul's fine article of April 19 "Furs, fins and feathers" about "good manners." It seems as if Ms Ben Shaul is describing the current situation in Bat Galim where, despite numerous complaints and appeals to the municipal veterinarian services, absolutely nothing is being done about the packs of wild-running dogs, who are a constant pest and menace to the local populace. Apparently they are only interested in exterminating the local cats who keep the mice and rats at bay...

MARGE E. LANDSBERG
Haifa.

PEN FRIENDS

BIRGIT UHENBROCK, (18), of Schleibohle 10, D-2386 Fährdorf, West Germany, would like an Israeli penfriend. Her hobbies are foreign languages, music (including Israeli pop), reading, swimming, and short-wave radio. She intends to visit Israel after completing school.

BRONISLAW CZERPA, of Box 85, Tarnobreg, Poland, would like an Israeli penfriend. He collects stamps, coins and banknotes, stickers, labels, postcards, calendars and is interested in exchanges. Languages: English, Russian, German, Czech and Polish.

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STRANGE CALENDAR

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — Your correspondent, Mr. J. Perlman, who writes on behalf of Yad L'Achim (April 16), uses the word "traitor" regarding a non-Jew living in Israel.

Perhaps Mr. Perlman should take a closer look at his own organization which has just issued a calendar for the month of Iyar, and which completely ignores Independence Day on Iyar 5, but instead reminds its readers that there is a fast on that day.

To any self-respecting Israeli, this denial of the existence of Israel's independence constitutes a greater act of treason than that committed by a non-Jew, who has no real obligation of loyalty to this land.

DAVID HAMBURGER
Netanya.

DISGRACEFUL LENIENCY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — The Post reports (April 26) that after a trial "which lasted over six years," a Jerusalem dentist, Yisrael Dagan, was found guilty of "sexually molesting four children who had come to him for treatment."

On each count, "Dagan received a six-month suspended sentence and a NIS 25 fine — the maximum fine allowable..."

On the assumption that all the

BUILDING ELIFAZ

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — I was impressed that your reporter, Edward Grossman, found Elifaz on the map and met the young people who have been toiling on the earth in the Arava for more than three years ("Call of the wild" — April 17). It is one more proof that not everything in this country is rotten.

Your readers may be interested to know that eight young settlers have been working on the building team and put up with their own hands some of the kibbutz buildings, including the kitchen and dining-room complex. They worked on construction in Elilat in order to learn the trade before tackling the buildings at Elifaz.

DR. ANITA C. PARDO
Jerusalem.

ESSENTIALS ARE CONTAINED IN THIS REPORT

(there is, for example, no suggestion that the prosecution is appealing against the sentence), one must — all of us should — publicly express anger and contempt that the legal process permits such disgraceful leniency for such a crime.

MICHAEL ELKINS
Jerusalem.

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